

THE GULF WAR

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TIME

Saddam's Weird War

Armored personnel carriers
after the battle for Khafji



06

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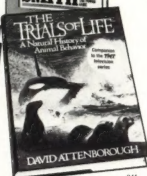
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TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE



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Showdown at Khafji

The first ground battle of the war results in savage house-to-house fighting and an allied victory.

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The man behind a demonic image

Madman? Narcissus gone wild? To fathom the cruel complexities of Saddam, one must explore the world that shaped him.

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Principles, protest and patriotism

In America's domestic debate, neither side claims a monopoly on love of country. Concern for the soldiers overrides angry differences about the war.

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SADDAM'S WEIRD WAR: Seeking to lure the U.S.-led coalition into a bloody battle on the ground, Iraq surprises—and baffles—the allies by invading a ghost town in Saudi Arabia

In military terms, the incursion is a disaster for Iraq, as Saudi and Qatari troops, backed by U.S. Marines, capture or kill hundreds of Saddam Hussein's soldiers. But the Iraqi leader may count the clash as a psychological victory, proving that his forces can stand up to a superpower. In the air war the allies claim supremacy, but what about the hundreds of Iraqi planes still hidden in bunkers? And the 100 or so that mysteriously winged to Iran?



WORLD: South Africa dismantles the last bastions of apartheid, while black leaders strive to end years of bloody rivalry

President F.W. de Klerk calls for the swift repeal of racist laws that have long dictated where blacks can work and live. Mandela and Buthelezi embrace but remain far apart on strategy. Black violence and white resistance could slow the timetable for change. ▶ **The Soviet Union** marshals soldiers and sailors to combat a fast-spreading epidemic of violent crime.

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LETTERS

THE GULF WAR

"This war may be the first step for international justice and for peace."

*Eugene A. Collard
Mons, Belgium*

We need to show America there are people in Germany and elsewhere who appreciate what the U.S. and its partners are doing for the world in fighting an aggressor [THE GULF WAR, Jan. 28]. Fifty years after the brutal excesses of Adolf Hitler, we have learned at least one lesson: fight as early as possible. When I see pictures of protesters taking to the streets to denounce the American engagement in the gulf, I think they are doing Saddam Hussein's work for him.

*Thomas Christ
Frankfurt, Germany*



If America's "surgical" strikes are as precise as our military leaders assure us they are, then why launch so many missiles and carry out so many bombing raids? When the smoke clears and the truth is told, how much of the ancient and fragile Iraqi ecosystem will remain? How many innocent civilians will we count among the dead?

*Suzy Kane
Bedford Hills, N.Y.*

I defend the right of all Americans to express their opinions freely. However, I am saddened that so many do not believe freedom is worth fighting for and do not consider murder, torture, slavery and rape worth fighting against.

*G. Ross Darnell
Idaho Falls*

It amazes me that many Arabs, particularly the Palestinians, have chosen to support Saddam. Are they so naive as to believe that a man who has admitted he is willing to sacrifice his own people in a needless war can be interested in them as anything other than political pawns?

*Joel Dubin
Toronto*

The people are suffering, and the military industry is doing great business. Another war lost by mankind.

*Federico Suenz-Negrete
Torreón, Mexico*

The broadcast media are getting carried away with their ridiculous coverage of the war. The unnecessary bomb-by-bomb accounts and the constant whining by reporters that they are not getting all the facts not only make them look foolish but also erode their credibility as journalists. America has the need and right to know,



but allowing the enemy to put its finger directly, immediately and electronically on the pulse of American reaction and opinion, not to mention logistical information, could be a bad thing for our troops, our POWs and our country. Remember, *everyone* is watching!

John Kushma
Logan, Utah

For the first time in my life, I am taking part in a war. Thanks to CNN's fantastic television coverage, I feel really involved. It is fortunate that here in Sweden we have foreign TV broadcasting and international magazines to enlighten us on the ghastly events in the Persian Gulf.

Eva Svensson
Göteborg, Sweden

Breast Restoration

Your article on breast cancer [MEDICINE, Jan. 14] was excellent, but I was upset about the picture you ran with the story "Restoring Lost Curves and Confidence." This piece, which included comments from me about my reconstructive breast surgery, was illustrated with a photograph of a woman with a reconstructed breast. It appeared that I was the subject of the photograph, which was not the case. Also, since the story noted that my opera-

tion took place in November, some readers might think the extensive surgery I underwent could all be done in a couple of months without apparent incision marks.

Carol Beebe
Point Pleasant, N.J.

Our picture was of a woman, not Ms. Beebe, whose reconstructive breast surgery had been performed more than a year earlier.

Polish Patriot

In my opinion, Wojciech Jaruzelski [INTERVIEW, Dec. 31] was misunderstood as President of Poland and has never been acknowledged—especially by his countrymen—as the patriot he is. By imposing martial law in December 1981, he may have saved Poland from an invasion by the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, he will always be remembered for that act, not for the negotiations that ultimately led to free elections and other radical changes in Poland.

Michelle Atallah
Passaic, N.J.

Noises Off

Lance Morrow noted in his piece on attacks upon the ear that he abhors canned music [ESSAY, Jan. 7]. I do too. But there's one item Morrow didn't list: the assault of telephone "please hold" requests inter-

persed with recorded messages of assurance or, worse, commercials. This suffering takes endurance, if not restraint.

Margaret Hill
Wilton, Calif.

Recently I had dinner in a restaurant with a stereo speaker directly over my table. Through it I heard androgynous characters sing unintelligible lyrics to an endlessly repetitive beat. I will be eating elsewhere from now on. Also, the local supermarket manager who turns on music at 7:45 in the morning seems to think I cannot shop for groceries successfully in silence. Retailers should know that there are people who would be inclined to buy more in their stores if they could do so in quiet.

Patricia Joralemon
Livingston, N.J.

Rubber-Stamped Handwriting

The new computer software MyScript, developed to imitate a person's handwriting [TECHNOLOGY, Jan. 7], may save minutes in sending a "personal" note, but the sincerity of a handwritten message can be measured by the valuable time that it takes to write it. A MyScript note is as personal as a rubber-stamped signature.

William H. Dean
Dearborn, Mich.

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A Nation of Neighbors

Port Orange Builds a Playground for All Children

The children of Port Orange, Florida now have a very special place to play called All Children's Park. It's a unique playground, accessible to handicapped children, built by volunteers from the town.

Laurie Thomas, whose six-year-old son Austin uses a wheelchair, is thrilled about it. "The most wonderful thing in the world is to see Austin playing with other kids," she says. "Nobody shuts out physically challenged kids at this playground. It feels good to know that the children who play here will grow up educated about disabilities—instead of afraid of them."

An Effort from the Heart

The playground got started because two young mothers—Kathy Seltzer and Brenda Canada—wanted better public facilities for their children. Mayor Judy Andersen got the two women together, and the city allocated space for the playground.

Renowned playground architect Robert Leathers agreed to take on the project provided it was a grass-roots effort involving everyone—especially the children. A representative from his office flew to Port Orange to work with the kids on their dream playground. "It was exciting to have the kids express their needs. We wanted to give them a sense of involvement," explains Kathy. "Now able-bodied kids are aware of the special needs of some of their friends."

The people of Port Orange threw themselves into the project. Volunteers set a goal of \$90,000; their efforts raised \$115,000.

The youngsters played a big part in raising money. A drive timed for St. Valentine's Day, called "Pennies from the Heart," brought in over \$8,000 in two weeks. Children collected pennies from their schoolmates, local colleges and businesses. Cookbook sales, softball games and car washing brought in more money. Local civic and religious groups gave generously, and construction companies provided some



Jim Raycraft

Ryan Knox helps Austin Thomas over the playhouse ramp in All Children's Park.

materials to help build the playground.

By April 1989, only one question remained: Would enough volunteers show up to actually build All Children's Park?

A Town Responds

"At times, it seemed like the whole town had turned out to help," says Brenda. "It was just like an old-fashioned barn raising."

Two thousand volunteers worked in three shifts for five days supervised by local foremen and experts from Leathers' architectural firm. Everyone got involved. Neighbors served meals to workers, children built bike racks and distributed donated soda, and seniors provided child care.

"The rapport among volunteers was wonderful to see," says Kathy. "Those five days truly bonded all of us as friends—and as a community."

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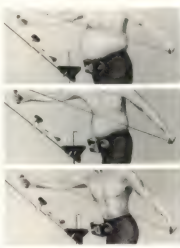


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People would think a "handwritten" note from a busy executive was a sham.

*Eric M. Cook
Wichita Falls, Texas*

Medical Workers and AIDS

In response to your article on medical workers who harbor the AIDS virus [HEALTH, Jan. 14], it is my opinion that all health-care professionals involved in invasive procedures should have themselves tested for HIV and make their status known to their patients. Similarly, patients who will be undergoing invasive procedures should be tested and make their status known to those treating them. A central principle of medical ethics is "First, do no harm." How can a physician or dentist know that he or she will do a patient no harm if he or she might be a carrier of HIV?

Sanford F. Kavin, M.D.

*Vice Chairman, Board of Trustees
National Foundation for Infectious Diseases
Washington*

Restive Republics

Although readers are mainly preoccupied with the gulf war, they are also reacting to events in the Soviet Union.

Moscow's moves to quash independence movements in Lithuania, Latvia and other republics [WORLD, Jan. 21] brought almost universal criticism of Mikhail Gorbachev. Ole Ahlqvist of Copenhagen warned, "The Nobel Peace Prize is not an award for past deeds only; the laureate needs to pursue those goals in the present and future. Mr. Gorbachev, return your prize!" From St. Charles, Ill., Vito V. Simanis wrote, "Gorbachev is sending the world a strong message: force is his primary tool against the will of the people." Afraid that the Soviet Union is in danger of renewed dictatorship, William A. Anderson of Woodstock, Ill., contends, "The Soviet bear is like a recovering alcoholic—one drink and it will revert to the old ways."

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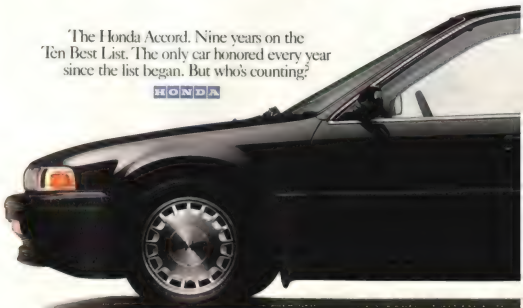
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THE NEC COMMITMENT:

PART 1

MADE IN AMERICA —AT McDONOUGH

By Neil A. Martin

McDonough, Ga.—It's just before 9 a.m. when the music starts. It is light, bouncy music, the kind that makes you feel like moving to the beat — which is just what everyone does twice a day at NEC Technologies' fast-growing electronics plant in this rural Georgia community.

Once in the morning and again in the afternoon, all employees at the plant — from the assembly line to the front office — take a three-minute break from their routine to stretch and limber up in a kind of office aerobics. The mood is congenial. And while the degree of participation varies from employee to employee, all really seem to enjoy the break.

"Besides being a brief but welcome interruption from the work routine," says administration director Sam S. Mavros, "most people like the break time because it gives them a chance to relax both mentally and physically."

The twice daily exercises also have a medical benefit. Most of the plant employees perform assembly line functions, and a typical line function takes 32 to 45 seconds to complete. The physical stress associated with such repetitive motion can develop into what is known as "carpal tunnel syndrome," which causes numbness and restricted mobility in the arm. Another benefit to the breaks is safety. "The stretching program has reduced our accident rate," says Mavros.

"Some of our visitors are surprised by the breaks," Mavros laughs, "but we think they give the plant a rather unique atmosphere."

A MODERN, WELL-RUN PLANT

■ To even the most casual visitor, the atmosphere at the McDonough facility is one of a modern, clean, well-run plant. Advanced transport and assembly robotics, modern conveyor systems, and vacuum lifts complement state-of-the-art test systems that check products for X-ray safety, high voltage, color, noise, and purity.

The average production in MultiSync color monitors is 2,000 units per day, and ProSpeed laptop computers are built at a rate of 200 units per day. A color display monitor rolls off the conveyor line for packing and shipment every 42 seconds.

IN THE BEGINNING

■ The McDonough facility was opened in July, 1985 by NEC Technologies, Inc., (formerly NEC Home Electronics) the consumer products arm of the Tokyo-based electronics giant, NEC Corp. Up to that time, NEC had been importing and selling color TVs, display monitors, laptop computers, and other consumer electronics items in what was essentially a marketing operation. But NEC decided it was time to begin making these items in the U.S. for reasons well-articulated by Hisao Kanai, chief executive officer of NEC Technologies, Inc. (NECT).

"We have always recognized that in order to better adapt our products to customer needs, and to provide our customers with quicker delivery and higher-quality service, we must make those products close to our customers," says Kanai. "Local manufacturing also enables us to participate actively as responsible corporate citizens in the communities in which we operate."

A GLOBAL REACH

■ With sales expected to top \$26 billion this year, NEC, the Tokyo-based parent of NECT, is very much a major player in the global telecommunications and computer industries. NEC ranks among the top five worldwide in the three most important markets of the electronics industry: chips, computers, and communications. The company is No. 1 in semiconductors, fourth in telecommunications, and fourth in computers. No other company, not even IBM, can make that claim.

Moreover, during the past decade, the company has aggressively committed itself to a policy of "globalization," which emphasizes local manufacturing, rather than export, as a way of getting closer to its customers and helping to reduce trade friction with its major trade partners. NEC currently makes products in 25 plants outside Japan. Five of these are in the U.S., where NEC has invested more than \$300 million to produce a variety of made-in-America goods ranging from semiconduc-



Teamwork helps to get the job done as Darlene Lomax and Geraldine Dallas finish assembling an NEC monitor.

tors, fiber optic systems and PBX (private branch exchange) systems to cellular telephones, professional audio/video equipment, and laptop and high-end personal computers and printers.

WHY McDONOUGH? WHY GEORGIA?

■ Why the town of McDonough in Henry County, and the state of Georgia for NEC's first consumer electronics plant in the U.S.?

"We chose to locate our plant in McDonough because the city, county, and state offer tremendous potential for growth," says NECT's CEO, Dr. Kanai. "The area is also well-suited for our transportation needs. The Atlanta/Hartsfield International Airport is just 20 minutes away, and we are close to major rail and highway arteries. Land prices were very attractive, and the social and economic infrastructure are very favorable for business."

General plant manager Nobuyuki (Nobby) Maeda, who was very instrumental in choosing his firm's Henry County site, adds another attraction — a large pool of available, hard-working employees. "Over the past few years, the area south of Atlanta has developed very rapidly," he points out. "Population has grown faster than other areas of the state, and we found a large reservoir of highly qualified, hard-working, and productive people in the region — the kind of people we felt would make our operation a success."

Douglas W. Price, manager of manufacturing engineering, concurs. "The people working for us are very efficient and quality-conscious," he says. "From everything

Advertisement



Reba Reeves, Diane Flemister, and Sally Wilson in the assembly department preparing circuit boards for NEC products.

SUBSTANTIAL GROWTH

■ By any yardstick, the Georgia plant has grown substantially in size and scope over the past five years. From a single 95,000-square-foot plant in 1985, the NECT facility today consists of three separate facilities—two plants and a distribution warehouse—with combined space of nearly 300,000 square feet. The size of the company's payroll has increased fivefold, from a little over 100 in 1985 to more than 600 at present.

The plant's product line has also grown over the past half-decade. When the facility was established, it produced only one product—color televisions (CTVs). In response to growing demand, a second CTV line was started within a year, and not long after that the plant began building laptop computers, and color display monitors, some of which were produced for other companies. Sales last year totaled more than \$400 million.

The biggest change for the plant occurred in the spring of 1987, when the Reagan Administration imposed a 100% tariff on imported computers. Within 30 days, and after "a lot of frantic work," says computer production manager Robert Donehoo, the company staffed a laptop production line and was quickly turning out 150 laptops a day. A second line was soon added and output doubled.

"It was really amazing how fast we jumped into full-scale computer production," Donehoo recalls. "It was a testament to the quality of our employees."

SIMPLIFYING SALES CHANNELS

■ Another historic change for the Georgia plant came earlier last year when NEC Home Electronics, which merged with NEC Information Systems of Foxborough, Mass. (a leading supplier of advanced personal computers and printers) to form NEC Technologies, Inc. (NECT). The merger created a new \$1 billion-plus manufacturing/marketing giant in the personal computer field, headquartered in Foxborough, with plants in Georgia and Massachusetts. Among other advantages, the merger helped strengthen NECT's position in the intensely competitive, price-sensitive personal computer and computer monitor markets.

With a merged sales force, NECT is now able to provide more efficient and simplified service to its dealers and customers. Under the new setup, NECT sales representatives will be responsible for selling both the laptops, graphic, and optical media products previously offered by Home Electronics and the desktop computers, printers, and disks marketed by Information Systems.

NECT executives agree that the new setup has simplified sales channels, unified invoice and shipping systems, and gener-

ally made life a lot easier. As Akira Sugiyama, NECT's senior vice president, explains: "The integration of our companies will result in the strengthening of all our strategic business units, improve efficiency, and provide more focused resources to all aspects of our business."

MORE LOCAL CONTENT

■ As part of its operating philosophy, NEC strives for annual increases in the local content of products it makes overseas. McDonough's purchases of local materials, for example, have tripled during the past five years.

Indeed, last year the Georgia plant bought over \$10 million worth of parts and components—everything from packing materials and plastic and wooden cabinets to CRTs, hard disk drives, and semiconductors. Most of these items came from suppliers in the U.S. and many from Georgia companies, including Oneda and Westvaco (Columbus), Stephen Gould (Atlanta), Cherokee and Sterling Printing (Decatur), Munkata (Dalton), Tuscarora (Conyers), and Foam Fabricators (Sandersville).

"The percentage of local content in our products currently averages about 40% to 50%," says purchasing manager Rich DeVos. "Our goal is 100% within the next two years," he continues. "We want to source locally as much as possible because it's important to have your vendors close to you so that you can communicate all issues more easily and effectively."

AHEAD TO THE FUTURE

■ What does the future hold in store for the Georgia facility? Depending upon market conditions (for computer monitors and laptop computers), the Georgia plant may add a number of new products to its production schedule, according to Maeda, including the popular "notebook" size personal computers and car electronics.

"There are a number of products used by the auto industry that we could supply from here," Maeda says.

Expanding the product line would, of course, mean more employment for McDonough and Henry County, which county and city officials say would be just fine. As Mayor Billy Copeland notes: "The future prosperity of this community is very closely linked to theirs and we hope NEC will grow and prosper in the future."

Maeda shares the mayor's optimism. "In a very brief span of time, this plant has become one of the keys to NEC's growing success in the U.S. marketplace," he says. "Today the products we make here in Georgia account for almost half of all the consumer electronics products NECT sells in the U.S. We expect this share to grow in the future."

Neil A. Martin is a writer-consultant who divides his time between Japan and the U.S.



APCs (Adjustment Process Checkers) Debrah Heaton, Melissa Wood, and Valarie Santana make final adjustments to an NEC monitor.

we know, productivity and quality are on a par with Japan."

A BURGEONING AREA

■ The Henry County area south of Atlanta is one of the five fastest-growing counties in the Peachtree state. While its economy remains rural-based, the county's location and labor pool have made it a magnet for companies like NEC, which in turn have brought industrial and commercial growth to the region.

"NEC is not only one of our largest employers," says David Shedd, president of the Henry County Chamber of Commerce, "but it has acted as a beacon to attract other Japanese and non-Japanese, high-tech employers of comparable quality to the area."

In fact, the help and response of local officials to the needs of NECT were a big inducement to locate in the area, according to Maeda. "We were very warmly welcomed by the Henry County Development Authority, local officials, and the chamber of commerce," says Maeda. "We were made to feel right at home."

CRITICS' VOICES

By TIME's Reviewers/Compiled by Linda Williams



BOOKS

KING EDWARD VIII by Philip Ziegler (Knopf; \$24.95). The great crown-for-love scandal gets a decidedly unromantic treatment in this diplomatic but by no means flattering portrait of the moonstruck Duke of Windsor, the man who gave up his throne for a career as the husband of American-born Wallis Simpson.

A DANGEROUS WOMAN by Mary McGarry Morris (Viking; \$19.95). This searching novel about a woman who is one of life's losers creates a character who is crazy enough to be interesting and sane enough to describe her own incompetence.

I AM A TEACHER: A TRIBUTE TO AMERICA'S TEACHERS by David Marshall Marquis and Robin Sachs (Simon & Schuster; \$29.95). In this chronicle of the nation's best teachers, 78 classroom veterans speak thoughtfully, sometimes passionately, of their profession's rewards and sorrows; accompanied by Sachs' evocative photographs.



TELEVISION

LUCY & DESI: BEFORE THE LAUGHTER (CBS, Feb. 10, 9 p.m. EST). Frances Fisher and Maurice Benard, winners of CBS's anyone-can-star contest, play the former First Couple of Comedy in a TV movie about their "loving but stormy" marriage.

KISSES (TNT, Feb. 11, 8 p.m. EST). Ted Turner keeps finding new ways to mine his extensive movie collection: Lauren Bacall is the host of this light-hearted documentary on the history of the movie kiss.



MUSIC

PAUL MCCARTNEY: TRIPPING THE LIVE FANTASTIC (Capitol). Could McCartney's 1990 world tour have been as good as this lark, occasionally inspired live set makes it sound? Missed it? Check out these two CDs, and let some older memories kick in.

THE TRASH CAN SINATRAS: CAKE (Go! Discs Ltd./London). Nice name, guys. But you already knew that. Actually, these five English lads play down an excellent brand of pub pop: simple, insinuating melodies, lyrics with propulsive good humor. Has the guy from Hoboken heard you yet?

SCHONBERG: CHORUS MUSIC (Sony Classical). Arnold Schönberg's reputation for atonality, serialism and 12-tone composition has created widespread resistance to his work, some of which is indeed forbidding. But if converts to his remarkably disparate choral music are to be won, these authoritative Pierre Boulez-led performances ought to do the job.



THEATER

LOST IN YONKERS. Neil Simon elevated himself from jokester to artist in an autobiographical trilogy during the mid-1980s. He returns to themes from his youth in his 20th Broadway-bound play, now at Washington's National Theater.

TRU. Robert Morse brings back to life the author, wit, bon vivant, self-pitier and true enchanter that was Truman Capote in this Tony-winning one-man performance, now on national tour, in Los Angeles through March 10.

GRAND HOTEL. The main reason to see this show on Broadway was Tommy Tune's sinuous staging, superbly fitted to its space. On tour, this week in Cleveland, it looks at once distant and squashed. The only compelling performance is by Brent Barrett as a doomed, down-on-his-luck aristocrat.

MULE BONE. There's historical curiosity, at least, in this never-before-produced 1930 script by Harlem literati Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston, now in previews on Broadway, with music by Taj Mahal and a stellar cast, includ-

ing Frances Foster, Arthur French and Theresa Merritt. Scholars judge the comedy, set in Florida, to be a landmark of black-American culture.



MOVIES

MR. AND MRS. BRIDGE. A wonderful movie from Evan S. Connell's brace of anecdotal novels about buttoned-up banker Walter Bridge and his dithery wife India, brought to full and funny life by Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward. Poignant and deftly satirical, director James Ivory's mood piece raises observation to an art form.

ALICE. Woody Allen goes whimsical in this contemporary fairy tale about a Manhattan woman (Mia Farrow) who dares to fly from her troubles toward her dreams. William Hurt and Alec Baldwin are among the men who hold her down—or help her soar.



ETCETERA

LISETTE MODEL. International Center of Photography, New York. To Model, the human form was a landscape and the human race was something both gamy and unearthly—a zoo full of mammals in derby hats and polka-dot dresses. Through March 24.

ORPHEUS UND EURYDIKE. Berlin's adventurous Komische Oper makes its U.S. debut at the Brooklyn Academy of Music with a radical updating of Gluck's masterwork. Orpheus is now a pop singer and the underworld he must traverse a lunatic asylum. Feb. 11-17.

COPPELLIA. American Ballet Theatre's only major new effort, with its irresistible Delibes score, moves to Chicago. Tony Straiges, who made the wizardly sets for *Sunday in the Park with George*, designed the production. Feb. 8-10.

VINTAGE VIDEOS

LEONARD MALTIM'S MOVIE MEMORIES (RCA/BMG Video; \$16.98 each). Something different. Not the usual clips of dear departed superstars and great moments from Hollywood classics. These are collections of "soundies": pre-MTV shorts from the '40s, made to be shown on a type of coin-operated movie jukebox and featuring... well, not to put too fine a point on it, some of the giants of American music, jazz department. Vol. 1, *The 1940's Music Machine*, boasts the likes of Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington in performance. Vol. 11, *Singing Stars of the Swing Era*, features rare film glimpses of the supernal June Christy and Anita O'Day, as well as Hoagy Carmichael's incomparable rendering of *Lazy Bones*. Vol. 111 chronicles *Big Band Swing*, including Count Basie's *Air Mail Special*. Vol. IV covers *Harlem Highlights*, featuring Rosetta Tharpe and Lucky Millinder doing a steamy version of *Four or Five Times*, which could have been the *Justify My Love* of its day. Gone. Real gone.

We offer balance across our menu. Meat and potatoes, bread, fish, chicken, vegetables, milk and cheese. Lots of smart choices to build great meal combinations. We serve a Chunky Chicken Salad which, with our Lite Vinaigrette Dressing, is only 210 calories. Lowfat, whole grain cereals. 1% lowfat milk. No fat, no cholesterol Apple Bran Muffins. 99.5% fat free milk shakes and lowfat frozen yogurt. The lean ground beef that made us famous, always at least 77.5% lean. And chicken and fish cooked in 100% cholesterol-free vegetable oil. Variety and choices in our menu. They help McDonald's® food fit even better into a well-balanced diet.



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GRAPEVINE

By GUY GARCIA/Reported by Sidney Urquhart



Is Saddam Cracking Up?



Saddam Hussein clearly intended to project the image of a strong and unflappable leader during his televised interview on CNN last week. But his eyes may have betrayed him by sending an altogether different message. Close watchers of the interview could not help noticing that the Iraqi leader was blinking at a frantic pace (as often as 40 times a minute, vs. 20 to 25 during a TV interview last June). John Molloy, a consultant who trains salespeople to handle stress, says Saddam's fluttering eyelids may be a sign of mental breakdown. "When salesmen start blinking, they're usually in trouble," says Molloy. "The guy looks like he's falling apart." While medical researchers are split over the significance of rapid blinking, battlefield commanders confirm that the symptom is common among soldiers who have endured heavy bombardment.

His Successor? Probably a Kinsman

Much as they want to see Saddam killed, overthrown or tried for war crimes, several top Bush Administration advisers and Arab leaders are quietly pulling for some of Saddam's nastiest henchmen to survive in power. If Iraq's Sunni Muslim ruling elite were to be ousted wholesale, no alternative government could easily take charge of the country's highly politicized military and secret police. Fear of these institutions is the strongest glue binding Iraq's fractious populace, including its long-oppressed Shiite Muslim majority and its rebellious northern Kurds. "When the Iraqis stop fighting us," says a senior

Bush adviser, "they may turn to fighting each other." The advisers believe postwar stability in Iraq and the region is better served if the country's next ruler is "someone in the clan"—one of Saddam's close associates, probably a relative from his hometown of Tikrit.

Keeping Their Traits on Ice

The gulf crisis has brought an increase in business for sperm banks. Many couples decided to have the husbands' sperm frozen before the men went off to war, so that their legacy would endure even if they were injured or killed. The San Diego branch of the Fertility Center of California, not far from the Camp Pendleton Marine base, has set up accounts for 100 military couples over the past few months. But with so many troops shipped out, the pace has slowed. Explains a spokeswoman for the center: "There are very few young men left in town."



American troops faced chemical weapons once before—in World War I. They fought in the desert in North Africa during World War II. They took part in an international military coalition in the Korean War. Their battles dominated TV screens during the Vietnam War. But the gulf war marks the first time that...

- ◆ U.S. troops have been deployed to defend Israel. American crews are manning Patriot antimissile batteries.
- ◆ A massive oil spill was used as a military weapon.
- ◆ The U.N. has voted to enforce sanctions with military action.
- ◆ The Bob Hope Christmas Show was subjected to prior censorship. In deference to Saudi Muslim sensibilities, the Pentagon banned the Pointer Sisters and Marie Osmond from performing for the troops in Saudi Arabia.
- ◆ The former World War II Allies (the U.S., Britain, France and the Soviet Union) and Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) have been part of the same alliance.
- ◆ Egyptians will fight on opposing sides. The coalition has 36,000 Egyptian troops, and the Iraqi army contains many Egyptian guest workers who were pressed into service.
- ◆ One missile was intercepted and destroyed after in combat, when a Patriot downed a Scud.
- ◆ A female American soldier has been listed as missing in action.
- ◆ CBS debated whether to identify Walter Cronkite, who has not been onscreen much lately, before putting him on the air. In the end, the network decided that the avuncular Cronkite mug would be sufficient ID.

A Graduation Gift From Uncle Sam

Armed-forces recruiters are catching flak for paying schools to get scouting information about students. The City of Los Angeles board of education passed a measure last week that stops the district from selling the names and addresses of high school students to military recruiters. The board was responding to complaints from parents, who consider the practice an invasion of student privacy. Since 1971 the district has been selling the names of juniors and seniors for 3¢ apiece. Last year it made \$8,081 from the list, which school officials say was used only to cover clerical costs. The Pentagon acknowledges that buying lists from high schools is a common way for the military to target potential recruits.

A Betty Grable For the '90s

She is armed and dangerous, but her knockout potential is also aesthetic. Meet the gulf war's first pinup girl: Jackie Guibord, 28, a statuesque mother of two who wields a shotgun



and sports a trim pair of jeans in a current Wrangler advertisement. Operation Desert Storm's answer to Betty Grable is actually a Provo, Utah, police officer who moonlights as a model. Her unofficial fan club began when a few Utah reservists took copies of the ad to the gulf. Before long other servicemen started tearing the photo out of magazines and pinning it up in tents, bunkers and just about every Marine military-police station in Saudi Arabia. Says Guibord: "If I can be a temporary diversion for our boys overseas, I'm flattered." Spoken like a real trooper.

No Creeps Allowed In This Campaign

While the rest of the Administration worries about Scuds and tanks, a few of George Bush's advisers have turned their attention to the weighty matter of what to call the President's reelection effort. The straightforward CREP (Committee to Re-Elect the President) will simply not do: too many associations with the tainted Nixon and Watergate years. Other possibilities discussed, albeit none very seriously:

CRAB (The Committee to Re-Anoint Bush). Considered too regal and, uh, pinched.

REBAQ (Re-Elect Bush and Quayle). Main drawback: sounds like an aerobics shoe.

PREP (The President's Re-Election Committee). Not regal enough. Also, invites mispronunciation and ridicule.

REB (Re-Elect Bush). A potential winner. Pithy and easy to remember. Could have appeal among Southern whites. ■

FROM THE MANAGING EDITOR

TIME is read not only in the U.S. but also by millions of people overseas. So, how does one adapt a quintessentially American newsmagazine for the rest of the world? The process is both Herculean and alchemical, involving such minutiae as the transmutation of impenetrable Americanisms and the replacement of American measures with metric, as well as the production of entire sections and cover stories that speak specifically to Asia, Europe, Latin America, Canada and Australia.

Each week a staff of 32 based in New York City works with our 19 bureaus around the world to shape stories, cull pictures and lay out the pages for the fraternal twin of the U.S. edition. With a circulation of 1.5 million, TIME International produced 1,500 pages on its own last year, including 37 cover stories. It has, in short, become a magazine in its own right—and as such it needs the editorial organization that will ensure its further growth and vitality. Effective this week, Karsten Prager becomes managing editor of TIME International, and his deputy, Joe Ferrer, assistant managing editor.

Born in the East Prussian capital of Königsberg (now Kalinin-

grad in the Soviet Union), Prager went to the U.S. as a student before embarking on a journalistic career that included long stints in Southeast Asia, where he covered the Vietnam War, and in the Middle East, where he was one of the first Western journalists, in 1975, to interview Saddam Hussein.

Ferrer joined TIME in 1963 and soon earned a reputation as one of the magazine's masters of editing. It is a talent he has shared generously over the years, leading many a neophyte writer through the intricacies and nuances of his craft. Says one writer: "Even when you think there isn't room to improve a story, Joe can make it better." Since overseeing TIME's coverage of the 1988 Olympics, Ferrer has worked closely with Prager in nurturing TIME International's growth as well as managing the complex logistics of 10 different editions each week.

"It's been a long and erratic evolution since TIME Europe first came out in 1973," says Prager. "But the process does not stand still. We want to make this magazine as international as possible without losing sight of the fact that it is by birth an American creation." With Prager and Ferrer at the helm, TIME International will assuredly not stand still.



Prager, Ferrer and covers of TIME's fraternal twin

The weekly transformation is both Herculean and alchemical




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The Gulf War

TIME/FEBRUARY 11, 1991

THE BATTLEFRONT

Combat In the Sand

The allies repel Baghdad's attempt to start the ground war and claim supremacy in the air

By **GEORGE J. CHURCH**



It was not supposed to start this way. The standard scenario called for the long-awaited, and dreaded, ground war to begin in mid-to-late February with an all-out U.S. and allied aerial, artillery and missile barrage on the Iraqi army's fortifications in Kuwait, followed quickly by a massive tank and infantry assault. So how come the ground war began in the last days of January with an *Iraqi* attack? On a penny-ante scale, with about 1,500 men and 80-odd tanks and other armored vehicles initially engaged? Aimed at a Saudi Arabian ghost town?

Allied forces recaptured that town, the sprawling beachside community of Khafji, within a day, but victory came only after bitter street fighting. Artillery duels along the Saudi-Kuwaiti border and firefights between U.S. Marines and groups of Iraqi troops crossing that border continued into the weekend.

There were wildly confusing stories: of as many as 60,000 Iraqi troops massing around the

The battle quickens: warned of incoming Iraqi artillery fire, U.S. Marines scramble for cover near the Saudi town of Khafji

town of Al Wafra, 37 miles from Khafji; of a column of 800 to 1,000 tanks and armored vehicles in that area—or maybe it was a phantom—moving south toward the Saudi border or north, away from it, under massive allied air attack or perhaps not. Late in the week allied commanders said they saw no pattern in Iraqi movements that would presage further raids.

The biggest questions were how many more battles Saddam Hussein might initiate and on what scale—and why he had ever gone on the attack at all. The Iraqi army fights most effectively from behind barbed wire, minefields and trenches like those it has dug in Kuwait. Why pull any troops and tanks out of the bunkers and holes in the sand, in which they had been fairly effectively hiding from air attack, and expose them to the full fury of allied air and artillery bombardment?

Riyadh, Washington and London buzzed with speculation about Saddam's strategy. The most popular theories:

► Saddam was seeking a propaganda victory. He hoped to buck up the morale of both his populace and his troops after two weeks of unrelenting air bombardment by showing them, and the world, that he could still put up a fight and even momentarily take the initiative.

► Khafji was a probing attack, perhaps the precursor of more. Saddam's forces have no spy satellites and have been unable or

unwilling even to send reconnaissance planes into Saudi airspace. The only way Iraqi generals can find out how many troops, artillery and tanks are massing at which spots along the border is to send troops across to engage them.

► Iraq is trying to throw sand into the gears of the allies' military preparations. Saddam might hope to delay or disrupt a possible allied flanking attack around the western tip of Kuwait by forcing American, British

or Arab troops that have been moving west to shift back to the east. Perhaps he also tried to take some of the bombing pressure off his supply lines and rear installations by forcing the U.S. to divert planes into close support of ground forces along the border.

► Saddam is getting desperate to start what he calls the "mother of battles." His plan has always been to inflict such heavy casualties on attacking allied ground forces that President Bush would seek some sort of

A fallen foe: allied officials said 67 Iraqis were killed or wounded and 500 were captured



An Iraqi captured from a mine-laying vessel in the gulf is brought aboard the U.S.S. Curt



Meanwhile, back at the front, U.S. Marines rush



compromise peace. But the allies unoblingly intend to hold off until weeks of bombing have killed more of the Iraqi troops, destroyed many of their fortifications and weapons, and cut off their supplies. Possibly the Iraqi leader hopes to goad his enemies into launching the land campaign prematurely.

If so, he is unlikely to succeed. Allied commanders vowed to start the main offensive when they are good and ready. Nor

did they have to divert any air power. In fact, planes swarmed to attack Iraqi armor in such numbers that they got in one another's way. But enough U.S. and allied planes were still available to carry out a full schedule of attacks throughout Kuwait and Iraq. Militarily, said General Norman Schwarzkopf, top allied commander in the gulf area, the Khafji battles were about as significant "as a mosquito on an elephant."

In terms of effect on the future course

of the war, that might be true. But as the first sizable ground battle, Khafji merits study. After the shooting ended, U.S. and British intelligence officers interrogated prisoners and pored over battle reports, trying to fill holes in what was still an incomplete picture.

The basic elements are clear enough. On Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday last week, Iraqi troops, tanks and armored vehicles crossed the Saudi border at several points between Khafji and Umm Hujul, 50 miles to the west. On Wednesday night they occupied Khafji, six miles south of the border; it had been abandoned on Jan. 17 by residents fleeing out of the range of Iraqi artillery. Saudis and troops from the Persian Gulf sheikdom of Qatar, supported by Marine air attacks and artillery fire, retook the town on Thursday, but only after house-to-house fighting that raged from 2:30 a.m. to 2 p.m. Sniper fire could still be heard on Friday. Marine planes and artillery repulsed the attacks at Umm Hujul.

Statistically, the Iraqis took a beating. By Friday afternoon the Saudis and Qataris had captured 500 Iraqis in and around Khafji, according to a U.S. briefing officer in Riyadh. Allied officials said 30 Iraqis were killed and another 37 were wounded. Saudi casualties were not much lighter:

The battle finally over, Saudi troops, returning to base, celebrate their hard-fought victory



CHRIS OFFUTT/WOODFIN CAMPBELL

toward Khafji to reinforce Saudi and Qatari units as the tug-of-war for the ghost town rages on, proving the Iraqis could still put up a fight



WAR ACTION JAN. 28-FEB. 3



18 dead, 29 wounded and four missing.

Eleven Marines were killed in the fighting around Umm Hujul, the first known American battle dead of the war (a number of flyers have been listed as missing in action). An AC-130 gunship with a crew of 14 was shot down over Kuwait, and a male and a female soldier on a "transport mission" near Khafji were missing. The woman, Army Specialist Melissa Rathbun-Nealey, might be the first female American

soldier ever to become a POW (though some nurses have been captured in previous wars).

American A-10 attack planes and Cobra and Apache helicopters and infantry weapons appeared to be quite as deadly as advertised against Iraqi armor. General Schwarzkopf would confirm only 24 Iraqi tanks definitely destroyed, but other counts for the border battles as a whole ran as high as 80 vehicles. Correspondents who

were allowed into Khafji Thursday afternoon reported that the streets were littered with the burning hulks of Soviet-made armored personnel carriers, knocked out by American tow missiles fired by Saudi and Qatari infantrymen. U.S. Marines lost three light armored vehicles (LAVs) in the fighting around Umm Hujul.

The battle also had some unpleasant surprises for the U.S. and its allies. Despite widespread reports of low morale among

IS THIS WHERE THE GUARDS ARE HIDING ?

Enough material was delivered to Iraq in 1986 to build 40 of these complexes. Their strength could account for the lack of allied success in bombing the Republican Guards.



In what looked to be probing attacks, Iraqi troops and armor pushed into Saudi Arabia at points from Khafji to Umm Hujul, touching

off the first sizable ground battles of the war. One column briefly occupied Khafji, a border town that had been abandoned by its residents, but it was retaken after a day of house-to-house fighting Thursday by Saudi and Qatari troops, who claimed to have captured 500 Iraqi prisoners. Marine aircraft and artillery turned back the other thrusts, but 11 Marines were killed near Umm Hujul, possibly by friendly fire. They were the first known American dead of the war. Allied forces claimed to have achieved air supremacy; Baghdad has abandoned central air-defense control, and the number of its best planes fleeing to Iran reached about 100. Iran repeatedly pledged to intern planes and pilots until the war is over.

Early in the week, allied bombers blew up the pipes feeding the oil spill, now the biggest in history, out of Sea Island. But the slick continued creeping down the coast toward the giant water-desalination plant at Jubail; Saudis were unsure whether they could keep that plant in operation.



Iraqi frontline troops, those in Khafji fought tenaciously, prolonging the battle for hours after the Saudis announced they had retaken the town. One column of tanks approached the Saudi border with their guns pointing backward, which allied forces took as a sign that the troops manning them wanted to defect; instead the Iraqis swivelled their turrets around rapidly and opened fire. There was a bitter possibility that the very first Americans known

to have died in combat in the gulf, the 11 Marines, were killed by misguided missiles from U.S. warplanes rather than by Iraqi fire. An investigative team was trying to determine exactly what kind of projectiles had struck their LAVs. Friendly fire may also have been responsible for another American death, on Saturday, when a Marine convoy was apparently hit by cluster bombs.

Perhaps the most prominent lesson of

Khafji is also the simplest: the Iraqis, in General Schwarzkopf's words, "certainly have a lot of fight left in them." That is hardly surprising. Early predictions of quick and low-cost victory came mainly from U.S. politicians and Arab diplomats, while the professional military has been cautious in warning against any such assumptions. Nonetheless, the question arises as to whether the air campaign has been quite as successful, and proceeding as

The Gulf War



In Baghdad last week, a man walks past the bombed remains of what the Iraqis called a baby-milk factory and the U.S. insisted was a germ-warfare plant

close to schedule, as is generally believed.

Figuring out how the air strikes are faring is difficult for two reasons: 1) the generals have never announced, even inferentially, a schedule against which U.S. and allied efforts can be measured—if in fact they have one; 2) they may well have difficulty themselves determining how much destruction the bombs have wreaked. Damage assessment is a tricky art even in the case of structures such as bridges. It is of course obvious if one has been hit, but figuring how long it might be unusable requires some uncertain judgments: How extensive are the repairs required? How quickly are they likely to be done? The judgments get more difficult when the focus shifts, as it is doing now, to such an elusive target as enemy troops.

At an allied air base in the gulf area, for example, a specialized group of U.S. Air Force F-4G Wild Weasels continually land with film taken by nose-mounted cameras. Less than 10 minutes after a Weasel touches down, its film is rushed into one of a cluster of van-size steel boxes, bolted together at the edge of a runway, that serve as a photo intelligence center. Specialists wearing white gloves bend over light tables and peer through loupes to examine miles of black-and-white film as it rolls by. Most of the film is a dead gray wash—desert sand—but occasionally a white speck or a cluster of dark dots appears.

In one picture that a reporter got a close look at, three dark half-moons turned out to be revetments for mobile artillery, but with no guns visible inside. Cap-

tain Barclay Trehal claims that the 50 specialists he bosses can distinguish live and dead aircraft, Scud missile launchers, vehicles and entrenchments—but not soldiers, who are too small to be seen. Their presence has to be inferred from concentrations of vehicles and equipment. Their numbers can only be guessed at. How much damage they may suffer from bomb hits is a more speculative judgment still.

That could become crucial in the next few weeks. One of the top-priority U.S. targets is the Republican Guards, Saddam's crack troops, who form a mobile reserve to be thrown into the eventual land battle for Kuwait at the most critical points. A high British officer says the allies will not launch the climactic ground offensive until at least 30%, and preferably 50%, of the Guards' fighting power is destroyed from the air. But how will they know when that point is reached? Washington officials admit they are having trouble gauging how much damage bombing is doing to the widely dispersed and well-dug-in Guards.

Bush lieutenants admit to two other mild disappointments. Scud missile launchers in Iraq have taken a longer time to find and destroy than expected. General Schwarzkopf reported that 35 Scuds were lobbed against Israel or Saudi Arabia in the first seven days of the war, only 18 in the second seven days. And in the first half of the war's third week only four launchings were recorded: three warheads fell on or near the Israeli-occupied West Bank,

causing no reported casualties, and another aimed at Riyadh was destroyed by a Patriot missile. But 1,500 sorties have been directed against Scuds, the most against any single type of target, and that has delayed and lessened the assault against such other vital targets as supply lines and the Republican Guards. Also, Iraq has proved more adept than expected at repairing runways, roads, radar and certain communications lines, forcing allied planes to hit some of those installations again and again.

Schwarzkopf reeled off impressive figures last week: 33 of 36 bridges hit on the supply lines between Iraq and Kuwait; truck traffic on the main Baghdad-to-Kuwait City road reduced to 10% of normal. But one or two of his claims might raise a skeptical eyebrow. The number of sorties flown against bridges divided by the number of bridges hit works out to almost 24 sorties per damaged bridge, which seems to indicate that a lot of "precision-guided" bombs and missiles are missing. Again, Schwarzkopf's estimate that the quantity of supplies reaching the Iraqi troops in Kuwait has dropped from 20,000 tons a day to a mere 2,000 assumes that damage on secondary roads has been as severe as on the main highway to Baghdad. Maybe, but no proof has been given. In general, however, there is no reason to doubt the picture of an awesome battering that eventually must seriously weaken Saddam's ability to withstand a ground attack.

What is more, Bush's advisers claim that the happy surprises in the air war outweigh the disturbing ones. The most heart-

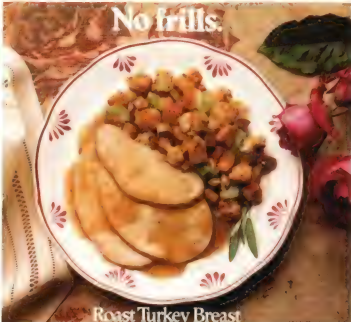
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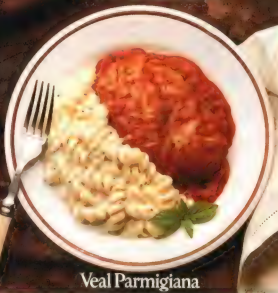
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The cost of Khafji: a Saudi soldier surveys the carnage from a hit on one of his country's armored personnel carriers

ening surprise is that losses have been so low. White House officials had braced themselves for the destruction of 100 or more American planes in the first few days; the actual figure lost in combat through the first 17 days was 15, plus seven allied craft. The principal reason, according to Schwarzkopf, is that the allies have so seriously crippled the Iraqi air-defense system that Baghdad has given up all attempts to exercise central control: every antiaircraft and missile battery is on its own trying to track and intercept allied raiders. Then there is the virtual disappearance of the Iraqi air force: scores of its planes destroyed on the ground or in the air; hundreds more hiding in shelters and rarely taking off; another 100 or so of the best planes flown to Iran.

What they are doing there is still a mystery. At one end of the speculative spectrum is the theory that at least some fled after the failure of an Iraqi air force coup to overthrow Saddam; at the opposite end is the possibility that Saddam has swung a deal to have Iran keep them safe for a while, then return them to him later in the war. The prevailing idea is that Saddam intends to stash them away for use by a post-war Iraqi regime that he thinks he will still head. This is backed up by repeated Iranian assurances that both planes and pilots will be interned until the end of the war. That would be fine with the U.S. As long as the planes are in Iran, they are of no use to Saddam, and if he tries to bring them back, American commanders are convinced they can shoot them down.

Iran was at the center of another mystery last week. What was François Scheer, general secretary of the French Foreign Ministry, doing in Tehran at the same time as Saadoun Hammadi, Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister, along with veteran would-be peacemakers from Algeria and Yemen? Cooking up some sort of compromise settlement, as the British suspected and his Iranian hosts mischievously hinted? Certainly not, huffed a spokesman in Paris: Scheer was only pursuing a variety of bilateral French-Iranian matters.

On the whole, the anti-Saddam coalition seemed to draw closer together last week. French Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement had put himself in an impossible position, managing his government's participation in a war he stubbornly opposed; he resigned and was succeeded by Pierre Joxe, a loyal follower of President François Mitterrand. The U.S. now permission to fly B-52 bombers out of bases in Britain and Spain on missions to the gulf. That will allow it to attack the Republican Guards with more of the giant planes than can be accommodated at bases in Saudi Arabia and the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia. The agreement was no surprise in the case of loyal ally Britain, but a very considerable surprise on the part of the formerly aloof government in Madrid. France agreed to allow the B-52s to fly over its territory. Being France, however, it attached conditions—among them that the B-52s not carry nuclear bombs.

The biggest political threat to the coal-

ition seemed to be that the Soviet Union might throw its weight behind various cease-fire proposals kicking around the United Nations. That might be a way of delivering an implicit message to the U.S.: If you make trouble for us in the Baltics, we'll make trouble for you in the gulf.

Secretary of State James Baker defused that threat, but at some political cost. He and Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh, visiting in Washington, agreed to a statement recommitting the U.S.S.R. to the proposition that Iraq must get out of Kuwait, period.

But the statement also seemed to imply a new U.S. willingness to go along with a cease-fire offer to Saddam, albeit on tough terms, and a greater degree of linkage between an end to the fighting and a postwar push for an Arab-Israeli settlement. Baker apparently thought the language was so innocuous that it would hardly be noticed. But peace advocates were so delighted and hard-liners so incensed that the White House felt obliged to state that there had been no change in policy.

On what terms the U.S. might end the fighting is a question that will have to be faced sooner or later. But for the moment it is academic. All the signals from Saddam indicate that his troops will stay in Kuwait until they are blasted out. The blasting so far is proceeding more or less as planned. But it has some way to go, and Saddam may have more surprises to spring before the war is over.

—Reported by William Dowell/
Dhahran, Dan Goodgame/Washington and Dick Thompson/Northeast Saudi Arabia

STRATEGY

Saddam's Deadly Trap

With his planes and troops outclassed, he is trying to score a political victory by luring the allies into bloody trench fighting

By **BRUCE W. NELAN**



Saddam Hussein sees himself as the spider waiting for the fly. Sooner or later, he believes, U.S.-led ground troops will push into Kuwait to drive out the Iraqi army. There they will be massacred by the thousands as they encounter one of the most formidable defenses ever built. It will not be a victory militarily, but the mere fact of having prolonged the war and inflicted high casualties will make Saddam the winner psychologically.

That, at least, is the theory. And to that end Saddam and his military commanders have applied the experience they gained in their eight years of defensive battles against massed Iranian troops. Their highly skilled combat engineers have turned the Kuwaiti and Iraqi borders with Saudi Arabia into a Maginot Line in the sand. In an area about the size of West Virginia the Iraqis have poured 540,000 of their million-man army and 4,000 of their 6,000 tanks, along with thousands of other armored vehicles and artillery pieces.

These forces are deeply dug in behind layers of defensive barriers 40 miles wide. Bulldozers have piled sand walls up to 40 ft. high. Behind them is a network of ditches, some rigged with pipes to deliver oil that will be set on fire, and concrete tank traps. Behind those are miles of razor wire and at least 500,000 mines.

Iraqi units are entrenched in their own traditional triangular forts, formed of packed sand, with an infantry company equipped with heavy machine guns holding each corner. Soldiers are protected by portable concrete shelters or dugouts of sheet metal and sand. Tanks are hunkered deep in the ground and bolstered with sandbags. Artillery pieces are deployed at the apex of each triangle, pre-aimed at "killing zones" created by flaming trenches and minefields. Defensive deployments like these are immobile; the officers learned in their war with Iran to hunker down, absorb attacks and fire back with artillery, often loaded with chemical shells.

Backing these static deployments are nearby infantry reserves and armored units as well as artillery. Two divisions line the gulf coast north and south of Kuwait City to ward off amphibious landings by U.S. Marines. Farther back, along the Kuwait-Iraq border, are Saddam's best troops: the armored and mechanized divisions of Iraq's Republican Guards, which are now being relentlessly bombed by U.S. B-52s and other allied aircraft.

How formidable are these Iraqi troops? One Pentagon analyst concedes that until the Iraq-Iran war erupted in 1980, "we knew zero about the Iraqis." In that conflict Saddam's troops often bogged down in offensive operations but excelled in defense, particularly when resisting Iranian thrusts into their homeland. Though individual units sometimes broke under fire, the main ground forces proved to be courageous, tenacious—and maliciously inventive. One bizarre operation rigged lowland marshes with electrodes to kill Iraqis as they waded through the water toward Iraqi lines.

The ruling Baath Party had purged almost all non-Baathist officers from the army during the 1970s. As a result, the officer corps stopped seeing itself as the defender of a national entity known as Iraq and began to see its mission as the preser-

vation of the Baath Party itself. Saddam's troops often bogged down in offensive operations but excelled in defense, particularly when resisting Iranian thrusts into their homeland. Though individual units sometimes broke under fire, the main ground forces proved to be courageous, tenacious—and maliciously inventive. One bizarre operation rigged lowland marshes with electrodes to kill Iraqis as they waded through the water toward Iraqi lines.

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FIVE LESSONS ABOUT IRAQI WARFARE

In eight years of war with Iran, the Iraqi armed forces fought dozens of battles, offensive and defensive, mobile and static, during the day and at night. Poring over the details of those engagements, Western military analysts have drawn conclusions that could prove vital in the struggle for Kuwait. Among them:



1 IRAQI COMBAT ENGINEERS ARE HIGHLY SKILLED AT BUILDING FORTIFICATIONS TO PROTECT DUG-IN TROOPS

vation of the party and its leader, Saddam Hussein. By 1980, a fifth of Iraq's work force was in the army, police or militia. The effect of Saddam's policies was to turn the country into an ideologically motivated military machine. Rumors of coups and plots within the military had no significant result on the conduct of the eight-year conflict with Iran, says Anthony Cordesman, author of *The Lessons of Modern War*, an authoritative study of the Iraq-Iran war.

Western experts consider the Iraqi army to be three forces in one:

- ▶ The regular army, which consists of 50 infantry divisions of 12,000 men each, backed by substantial numbers of tanks and other armored vehicles.
- ▶ The People's Army, a relatively weak, poorly trained and badly organized militia.
- ▶ The vaunted Republican Guards, a tough combat force of 125,000 selected for their bravery and loyalty.

Saddam's strategy is clear—making a virtue of necessity. He cannot reach out and strike the allied forces because his air force is in hiding or in exile, his insignificant navy is bottled up, and his Scud missiles are too inaccurate to pose much threat to military targets. He can only hope that the allied troops will come to him in a frontal assault on his fixed positions.

If that occurs, his troops would almost certainly let fly with shells loaded with chemical weapons—mustard gas that sears and blisters, nerve agents that cause death in minutes, or even biological killers like anthrax and botulism. Experts still argue whether Iraq has biological warheads for its bombs or shells, but thousands of chemical weapons have been stored along the front in Iraq and Kuwait.

Chemical weapons are horrifying and

unreliable, and some military specialists have questioned whether Saddam would resort to them. Poisons might not be highly effective because modern armored vehicles have filters to keep them out and infantrymen wear protective gear. But Saddam is determined to kill as many allied troops as possible, and his chemical shells caused an estimated 25,000 Iranian deaths.

Saddam's keen desire to lure allied forces into ground combat, the sooner the better, is obvious to General Norman Schwarzkopf and his colleagues. As the allied commander pointed out last week, his air campaign is now blasting the supply lines to Kuwait, especially bridges over the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.

It would suit Schwarzkopf fine if cutting supply lines from the air would drive the Iraqis out of Kuwait, but that is not likely to happen. Since they use up a lot of supplies during combat—Iraqi gunners fire as many shells in one day as Americans do in a week—the Iraqis have stockpiled immense quantities of munitions.

Some U.S. commanders say there will be no attack on the ground until the fighting power of the Republican Guards has been reduced 30% to 50%. So far, allied air attacks have made only limited progress toward that goal. A senior U.S. official says the Iraqis are well dug in and so far seem to be riding out the bombing. "These are first-rate troops," he says. "We're seeing that they know how to disperse and protect themselves." Adds Michael Dewar, deputy director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London: "There is a massive amount of Iraqi firepower. Heavy bombing and artillery fire will destroy some of it but not all. There will be tough fighting."

The central question is not how much punishment the allies can inflict but how much the Iraqis are ready to absorb. Saddam claims that Iraq can accept large numbers of casualties but the U.S. cannot because public opinion will quickly turn against the war. His Foreign Minister, Tariq Aziz, told U.S. Secretary of State James Baker that Iraq could hold out for a year or even two. Both Iraqis have probably miscalculated again.

In due course, Saddam will get his wish. An allied ground assault will be needed, if only to mop up the remaining Iraqi force in Kuwait. But when the U.S.-led onslaught begins, it will not be an assault of the Iranian variety. To begin with, it will come in more than one place: a broad flanking movement far to the west, for example, possibly accompanied by a Marine amphibious landing in Kuwait and multiple feints at the fortified front as well. Because the Iraqis have no reconnaissance planes in the air and no battlefield intelligence aside from what they can see over their sand walls, they will not know which thrust is the main one. They are also blinded by a shortage of night-fighting equipment and their inability to communicate with each other under electronic jamming.

The U.S. and its allies do not have the 3-to-1 superiority in manpower that classic military theory says the attacker should have to be confident of victory. They do hold the great advantage of choosing the point at which they will aim their assault and massing great local superiority there. Using artillery and air attacks with cluster bombs, they will try to knock out Iraqi guns and troop emplacements.

Iraq's artillery is modern and highly capable. Among other things, its arsenal in-



2 USING CHEMICAL WEAPONS IS STANDARD OPERATING PROCEDURE



3 TANK GUNNERS' AND ARMORED UNITS' COMMUNICATIONS ARE POOR

The Gulf War

cludes hundreds of South African G-5s, probably the best field guns in the world, with a range of more than 20 miles. The artillery force has serious weaknesses, though. First, Iraq has no spotter planes in the air, and its artillerymen will be unable to shoot at anything they cannot see in front of them. Second, almost all the Iraqi guns have to be towed around by trucks. That means they can be pinpointed by allied artillery and aircraft, and the huge quantities of shells piled behind them will make for mighty explosions when hit. If the Iraqis try to move the guns, they will become an inviting target for air attack.

The main allied push, when it comes, will set off large tank battles. Iraq's armored force is the fourth largest in the world. Its most modern battle tanks are the Soviet-built T-62 and T-72, both of which are considered inferior to the U.S.'s M1A1. In any case, the allies will not rely on tank-to-tank combat but will call in air strikes by A-10 Thunderbolts and missile-launching helicopters. In the desert there is no cover for armored vehicles, which churn up a dust cloud behind them wherever they go. "They move, we see 'em," says an A-10 pilot in Saudi Arabia.

Allied engineers will then begin cutting roads through the minefields. At that point, the Republican Guards will have to concentrate their dispersed, dug-in forces and counterattack. The day and night bombardment by B-52s and missile attacks from planes and helicopters will continue. The international forces will quickly be free to roll across Kuwait. "The Iraqis have never faced major maneuver operations," says Cordesman.

With defeat facing him, most analysts believe, Saddam will use every dirty trick at his disposal. He will load his guns and multiple-rocket launchers with chemical weapons and use those weapons in large numbers. They will not be a decisive weapon but may advance his plan to cause as many deaths as possible. He will also fire off his Scuds with chemical warheads, if he has them, at Israel in another attempt to widen the war and crack the coalition.

Saddam's vanished air force may reappear. His best planes—MiG-29s and F-1 Mirages—and his French-trained pilots have fled to Iran. But at least 350 others, mostly older MiGs, remain in Iraq in revetments and shelters. He could launch these, armed with conventional or chemical bombs, against the allied ground forces. He might even send some of them on kamikaze-style, one-way missions into Saudi Arabia and Israel. "Saddam appears prepared to lose those aircraft in strikes against us," warns a Pentagon general.

There are other potential Iraqi surprises. Saddam, remembering the damage done to the U.S.S. *Stark* by an Exocet missile in 1987, could attack allied ships in the gulf with either air-launched or sea-launched Exocets. They would do little damage to a battleship or cruiser but could cause havoc on a destroyer or frigate. It is also possible that Iraqi frogmen might try to swim in and plant mines in Saudi ports or oil facilities.

None of those outrages, even if they succeed, can change the outcome of the war. There is no way Saddam can win militarily, and he must know that. His plan is to

win politically and psychologically by spilling allied—mainly American—blood. The longer the allies keep him at arm's length and pound his forces with bombs and missiles, cutting his supply lines, the faster his military power ebbs. His only hope, as his cross-border thrusts showed last week, is to lure the allies into an early ground battle.

The strategic debate over the war's end game is beginning to resemble the one that took place earlier on the effectiveness of economic sanctions. Sanctioners argued for more time to allow them to work, to disrupt Saddam's military strength. George Bush decided he could not wait. Now air strikes on Iraqi military positions are a kind of sanction with teeth, weakening Iraq's fighting abilities, destroying men and equipment.

General Schwarzkopf promises to stick with the air blitzkrieg until it has achieved its objective. But the pressure to launch the ground attack will soon increase. Says Lawrence Freedman, professor of war studies at King's College, University of London: "The allies won't leave it too long into February because they need to get [the war] over during March."

In a few weeks the weather in the gulf will turn hot. The Islamic fast days of Ramadan will arrive, then the pilgrimage of the faithful to the holy cities in Saudi Arabia. Calls to get the war over with will mount. The longer Bush resists them, the better. Allied victory is assured, but the steady pounding of air power will hold to a minimum the bloodshed Saddam is so desperate to inflict.

—Reported by William Dowell/
Dhahran, William Mader/London and Bruce van
Voerst/Washington



4 ARTILLERY AND ROCKETS ARE IRAQ'S MOST MODERN AND CAPABLE GROUND WEAPONS



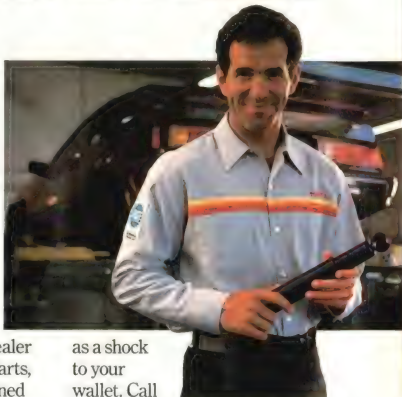
5 SADDAM'S AIRCRAFT ARE NOT WELL MAINTAINED, AND MOST OF HIS PILOTS ARE BADLY TRAINED

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IRAN

The Not So Innocent Bystander

By agreeing to park Iraq's planes, Tehran is positioning itself to play a stronger role in postwar gulf politics

By MICHAEL S. SERRILL



When a high-level delegation from Iraq began meetings with Iranian officials in Tehran Jan. 8, the sessions attracted little notice. After all, at that same moment U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz were preparing to hold their last-minute talks in Geneva, and the clock was ticking toward war. But political analysts in Washington and the Middle East now believe a deal might have been struck at those meetings in the Iranian capital, a deal that last week triggered one of the more mysterious events of the gulf war: the sudden departure for Iran of the cream of the Iraqi air force.

The migration, which was suspected to total 100 planes, left allied officials perplexed. "It's tough for me to put any kind of interpretation on what's going on," said chief of allied operations General H. Norman Schwarzkopf. If Saddam Hussein was behind the exodus—and that was not absolutely certain—his goal was obvious: to save his air force from being destroyed on Iraqi soil by allied bombers. But what had motivated Iran to give a helping hand to its erstwhile enemy?

No clear explanation came from Tehran. Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani did assure the U.S.-led coalition, however, that the decision to provide sanctuary to some of Saddam's most sophisticated French and Soviet fighters and most of his SU-24 Fencer bombers would not affect Iran's neutral status. The planes, Iranian officials said, will be impounded and held until hostilities end. They also insisted that no deal had been cut with Baghdad in advance.

Whether that is true or not, the decision to hold on to Saddam's planes allows Tehran to play each side against the other in the gulf conflict, to its own advantage. By facilitating the removal of some 10% of Iraq's planes from combat, Iran earns the gratitude of the U.S. and its allies. "These aircraft are capable of reaching Israel, and their absconding from Iraq greatly reduces Iraq's war potential," said Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens last week.

As for Saddam Hussein, Iran is giving him hope that should he outlast the U.N. coalition, he can still retain some of his military muscle. By helping out Saddam, Rafsanjani is assuaging the feelings of radical Islamic factions within Iran's parliament, who are unhappy to see Iran ignore the pummeling of fellow Muslims by Western forces.

In its public pronouncements, Iran has



Working both sides of the aisle: Iran's Rafsanjani

Bargaining Chips

Though Iran has promised to return Iraq's planes after the gulf conflict, can Baghdad really trust a regime with which it fought a vicious eight-year war? If Tehran gives the planes back at all, it might be in exchange for war reparations. Iran has been demanding as much as \$100 billion—in vain.

expressed only contempt for the goals of the U.S.-led coalition. Yet few diplomats, including top U.S. specialists, doubt that Tehran is determined to remain a bystander in the conflict. "I would be flabbergasted if Iran made a 180° turn, violated the U.N. resolutions and sacrificed its neutrality," says a European envoy in Riyadh. Says a senior British diplomat in London: "Iran has nothing to gain by getting involved in the war against the allies. Among other things, its military is in terrible shape as a result of the Iran-Iraq war."

Anti-American rhetoric by Islamic extremists in Tehran is not to be taken seriously. "It is for domestic, anti-imperialist consumption that the so-called radicals shout warmongering slogans against the Americans," says an Iranian political scientist living in Paris. "Even the Iranian Revolutionary Guards are in no mood to join the hostilities."

Iran has already gained a great deal by staying out of the conflict. Not long after Iraq invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2, Saddam, in a clear effort to keep Tehran neutral, announced that he would release Iranian prisoners of war and give up Iranian territory still held from the Iran-Iraq war. The gulf conflict also has given Rafsanjani an opening to repair relations with Saudi

Arabia and the other gulf states, which supported Iraq in its war with Iran. According to a senior Saudi official, Tehran, as a reward for its neutrality, is asking for loans and a lifting of the quota limiting Iranian participation in the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca.

The most important advantage Iran hopes to gain is the opportunity to emerge as an influence broker in the postwar gulf. Until now, Tehran has been on the sidelines, frustrated at the prospect of being excluded from the horse trading that will take place after the war. Rafsanjani's immediate goal is to head off any possible moves by coalition members, particularly Turkey and Syria, to carve up Iraq after it is defeated. Iran fears that Turkey may claim Iraqi Kurdistan and its oil-rich arcus of Mosul and Kirkuk, once part of the Ottoman empire, and that Syria may attempt its own land grab. Iran is eager to prevent—by threats of force, if necessary—any postwar breakup of Iraq that would upset the delicate balance of power in the region.

While trying to keep its neighbors in check, Iran has been quietly striving to win friends inside Iraq. Frequently accused of violating the trade embargo against Baghdad in the run-up to the war, Iran last week announced openly that it would be

sending food and medicine to Iraqi non-combatants, as is permitted under U.N. guidelines. Both countries have Shiite Muslim majorities, though the Baathist government of Saddam Hussein is dominated by Sunni Muslims. Tehran's ultimate goal, some analysts say, is to foment a takeover by Baghdad's Shi'ites. If the day ever comes that friendly Shi'ites do control Iraq, Iran might offer the new government a generous gift: say, 100 or so fighters and bombers confiscated during the gulf war.

—Reported by Dean Fischer/Riyadh and Farah Nayeri/Paris

THE ARSENAL

Who Armed Baghdad?

Almost every nation with weaponry to sell did, including America's allies. Even worse, the purchases were funded by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

By JILL SMOLOWE



For the allied soldiers locked in combat with Iraq's huge and well-equipped military, the question of who armed Saddam Hussein is hardly academic. They know that France sold Iraq the Mirage F-1 jet fighter as well as its armament, the Exocet missile, which could be launched with deadly effect against allied ships. Egypt provided many of the artillery pieces and secondhand, Soviet-built tanks that imperil allied soldiers on the ground. And the U.S. encouraged other nations to supply the sophisticated aircraft, advanced armored vehicles and other weaponry that threaten coalition soldiers. "It angers me," says 1st Lieut. Alan Leclerc, a U.S. Marine pilot who flies daily

sorties into Iraq and Kuwait. "Countries of the world need to be a little more discreet about whom they sell weapons to, and that includes us."

It is no small irony that many of the countries that condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait are the very ones that filled Saddam's arsenal. Moreover, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait provided billions of the dollars that financed his weapons-buying binges. Through the '80s, communist dictators, Arab autocrats, South American generals and Western democrats alike opened their countries' weapons coffers to Saddam. The bills for his spending spree, which built Iraq into the world's fourth-ranking military power, totaled more than \$50 billion—and that figure refers only to sales of conventional weapons. Some \$15 billion more went toward the covert purchase of materials to develop chemical and biological

weapons. Who armed Saddam? Says Anthony Cordesman, the leading U.S. expert on the Iraqi military: "The answer is everybody who has arms."

Saddam set his sights on developing Iraq into a regional military superpower as far back as 1971. As Vice President, he established in many countries clandestine procurement units that drew upon a secret Swiss bank account stoked by skimming 5% off Iraq's burgeoning oil revenues. Through the '70s Iraq purchased weapons from the Soviets, who were eager to extend their influence in the Middle East. Saddam's interest was to counter a U.S.-engineered arms buildup in Iran. Western sympathies shifted against Tehran after the 1979 Islamic revolution, which ousted the Shah and brought the Ayatollah Khomeini to power. After Iraq invaded Iran in 1980, France proved to be a willing supplier. Chi-



A Marine officer warns about Iraqi land mines



During the war with Iran, Iraqi pilots of French-built Mirage F-1EQ jet fighters go over plans for a mission

na and 25 other countries also fueled the eight-year conflict by selling weapons to both sides. The war ended in 1988, but Saddam was not sated. With an eye toward both Iran and Israel, he continued to hoard weapons, spending \$2 billion in the 18 months following the cease-fire.

Throughout, he played the international arms market deftly, aware that he could keep his foes guessing about the contents of his arsenal by avoiding one-stop shopping. The Scud missiles fired against Israel and Saudi Arabia, for instance, were bought from the Soviet Union but were upgraded with equipment and expertise purchased from other nations. France provided guidance systems, Germany and Italy improved propulsion, and Brazil assembled the parts. Iraq's underground aircraft shelters were also hybrid creations. According to European press reports, Belgians designed the shelters, Swiss provided air-filtration units, Italians blastproof doors, and Britons and Germans the electrical power generators.

Overall, Saddam pursued a two-track buying strategy to build up his stocks:

CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS.

"Our responsibility is very small," Vitali Naumkin, the deputy director of Moscow's Institute of Oriental Studies, says today, adding that no one bears "entire responsibility." Fair enough. But Moscow led the charge to equip Saddam. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 80% of the major weapons systems procured by Iraq between 1980 and '89 came from three of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council: the Soviet Union, France and China. Moscow alone supplied 53%.

The Soviets neglected no service branch. They supplied the air force with several models of MiG fighters and with Su-25 fighter-bombers; the navy with missile boats; the army with missiles, T-72 tanks and heavy artillery. Moscow also provided 193 military advisers who, the Soviets insist, were in Iraq only to assist with equipment maintenance. The last group reportedly returned home Jan. 24.

France furnished about a fifth of Iraq's imported weapons systems, including Mirage F-1s, Puma attack helicopters, and Exocet as well as antitank and anti-aircraft missiles. The camouflage nets and plastic decoys being used by Iraq to fool allied flyers were also sold by French companies. "You send them a check, and they'll sell you anything," an American pilot fumed last week. More worrisome,

France sold Iraq the Osirak nuclear reactor that was bombed by Israel in 1981. After that attack, which heightened concerns that Iraq might be pursuing a nuclear-weapons capability, Paris shied away from nuclear-related sales to Baghdad. Though Iraq fell \$5 billion behind in its payments, French firms continued selling equipment to Saddam until early 1990. They did not want to lose a customer whose \$12 billion in orders accounted for up to 40% of their sales.

UNCONVENTIONAL WEAPONS.

Germany is implicated in more disturbing ways. A U.S. arms expert says Germany's

The hunt for Saddam's suppliers is gaining momentum. In Germany at least 59 companies are under investigation, 25 for involvement in chemical-weapons development. Saudi and Kuwaiti officials are wringing their hands over the billions of dollars they lent or granted Iraq during the war with Iran. And Egypt worries about the thousands of Egyptians who served in Saddam's army during that conflict. Many are still in the Iraqi army, raising the specter of Egyptians fighting Egyptians.

In the U.S. customs officials report that 40 investigations are under way in connection with illegal shipments to Iraq.

Most of the alleged violations are relatively small, involving medical supplies and computers. But some concern illegal weapons shipments. Moreover, congressional investigators are probing an Italian bank's handling of \$750 million in U.S. Department of Agriculture credits extended to Iraq in the 1980s for food purchases. In an internal memo dated Feb. 23, 1990, administrator F. Paul Dickerson warned Under Secretary Richard Crowder: "In a worst case scenario, investigators would find a direct link to financing Iraqi military expenditures, particularly the Condor missile." Despite Dickerson's warning, the department was still considering \$500 million in additional credits when Saddam invaded Kuwait.

There may be other bombshells. Details of Iraq's purchases of restricted military electronic equipment from the West are only beginning to filter out. The inventory is believed to include sensors and advanced radar modifications, night-vision apparatus and devices designed to counter the West's own electronic measures. Saddam's warning of a "surprise" for the coalition may refer to this sensitive area of technology.

Arms purchases on such a scale could not have occurred without the implicit approval of governments. "A deliberate effort to fail to be informed," says Cordesman, "is just another form of collaboration." In a belated acknowledgment that arming one perceived monster to fight another can boomerang, Secretary of State James Baker and his Soviet counterpart, Alexander Bessmertnykh, issued a joint statement last week calling for restraint in the "spiral arms race" in the Middle East. A gesture, most likely, both too little and too late.

—Reported by Jonathan Beatty/
Los Angeles, Jay Peterzell/Washington and
Ann M. Simmons/Moscow

WHERE SADDAM'S BEST WEAPONS COME FROM

	MISSILES	U.S.S.R. Up to 2,000 Scuds (modified by Iraq)
		FRANCE Up to 880 Exocets, air to surface
	TANKS	U.S.S.R. 1,000 T-72 main battle tanks
	ARTILLERY	SOUTH AFRICA 200 G-5 155-mm howitzers
	AIRCRAFT	FRANCE 113 Mirage F-1 jet fighters
		U.S.S.R. 64 MiG-29 jet fighters
		U.S.S.R. 60 Su-24 ground-attack planes
	MINES	U.S.S.R. Antitanks and antipersonnel mines as well as sea mines
		TAIWAN
		ITALY
	RADAR	OTHER
		BRAZIL Fire-control radar
		BRITAIN Training and equipment
		FRANCE Point-defense radar

MAN Technologie continued to send technicians to Iraq to work on Saddam's nuclear program as late as last November. According to German reports, German companies also provided Iraq with 90% of its chemical-weapons capability. Most of the exports were dual-use items. Manufacturers told German customs officials that the shipments involved factory parts for the construction of pesticide plants. Actually they were destined for complexes like Samarra and Salman Pak, where Iraq developed its chemical and biological weapons. Now, warns Gary Milhollin, director of the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control, "U.S. troops may have to fight their way through Germany's chemical exports to destroy Germany's nuclear exports."

LEADERSHIP

The Man Behind A Demonic Image

To fathom the cruel complexities of Saddam, one must explore the world and the anger that shaped him

By PAUL GRAY



Confronted by a formidable coalition of arms, he fires missiles at civilians in a noncombatant state. Taking a terrible pounding from the air, he sends some of his best planes and pilots to the airfields of a neutral country, leaving his troops and citizens that much more defenseless. He parades visibly mistreated POWs before TV cameras, arousing the disgust and wrath of the powers arrayed against him. He releases hundreds of millions of gallons of oil into the Persian Gulf, threatening not just his neighbors but also his own people with ecological disaster.

Seen simplistically and from afar, Saddam Hussein comes across as a figure seldom found outside the pages of comic books or pulp fiction: the villain who will stop at nothing, an Arab Dr. No alive and menacing in the Middle East. Some are content to leave it at that. The demonizing of Saddam has escalated along with the war and seems omnipresent in the West. Last week the op-ed page of the *New York Times* ran a David Levine drawing titled *The Descent of Man*. Running from left to right were representations of Clark Gable, a gorilla, a chimpanzee, a cobra and, finally, a diminutive, flyspeck Saddam standing waist-deep in an oil slick.

Those not content with the bogeyman view of current events still find Saddam difficult—devilishly difficult—to understand. The simplest solution may be that proposed by a Saudi prince: “We always thought he was possessed of a pure criminal mentality, but now he is going crazy.” The madman theory seems a bit more respectable, intellectually, than simply calling the Iraqi a monster. Long-distance psychoanalyzing of Saddam has been going on for some time, particularly in the U.S. and Israel, with not very helpful results. He suffers from malignant narcissism. He craves challenges. He is paranoid, distrustful of everyone and everything. The root cause of the current gulf

carnage can be traced to his unhappy childhood.

The trouble with such statements, even if they could be proved accurate, is they explain far too little. Of course, Saddam, like everyone else, has been shaped by nature and nurture, genetic predispositions plus the conditions of the world around him. The reason so many in the West find him baffling is an unwillingness or an inability to understand what those conditions were and are.

He grew up in a culture soaked in conspiracy. Living impoverished, in a mud hut, he witnessed a world up for grabs. Power was being abandoned or ceded by the colonialist overlords. Along with a shared anti-Western pan-Arabism, most Arabs of the 1930s and '40s had the old loyalties, to family, tribe and religion. In the fresh air of change, these mixed explosively, perhaps nowhere more so than in Iraq, which after independence in 1932, for three decades experienced bloody and repeated coups and counter coups. The upheavals ceased in 1968, when the Baath Party won power and installed a regime so ruthless that effective opposition was simply crushed.

One of the principal architects of the Baath success was Saddam. Placed in charge of domestic security, he forged Iraq's ubiquitous and terrifying intelligence network. He murdered his enemies and, when appropriate, his friends. He did not finally get to be President of Iraq by being a nice guy. If he now thinks, as is widely assumed, that people all around him are trying to kill him, that may be because, for much of his adult life, people all around him have been trying to kill him.

The frequent allusions in the West to Saddam's “paranoia” thus make his behavior seem more complicated than it really is. He does not have to fantasize enemies; he has inherited and made enough to last several lifetimes. His invasion of Iran in 1980 is often cited as a headstrong blunder. True, Saddam could not have foreseen the initial defeats and the debilitating eight-year war that would follow. But hindsight



From a mud hut to a place at the world's table:



The future President as a boy in the 1940s

suggests that he would probably have provoked Iran into battle even if he had known all the consequences at the outset. From his point of view, the alternative was worse: the militant Islamic fundamentalism, fanned by the Ayatollah Khomeini, would arouse Iraq's Shi'ite Muslims, some 55% of the population, leading not only to Saddam's overthrow but also to the domination of his Arab state by the descendants of the ancient Persian enemy. Would this really have happened? Saddam did not wait for an answer.

Nor did he bide his time last year while the gulf sheikdoms conspired to strangle



brandishing cigar and steering wheel, Saddam visits his native village



Swimming with one of his daughters in the Tigris: a culture soaked in conspiracy

Iraq's economy. For that is how he viewed events—and his perception rests at the heart of the present crisis. Battered by the war with Iran, \$80 billion in debt, he expected gratitude from the likes of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia for having spared them, as well as himself, the zeal of Khomeini's revolutionaries. He wanted higher oil prices; instead, production in the gulf went up, and his revenues went down. He wanted to lease islands for ports and loading berths on the gulf from Kuwait; no deal. All the while, Kuwait was slant-drilling oil out of a field that crosses the border between it and Iraq, and his rich neighbors

were pestering him to repay the billions he had borrowed to fight a war that served their interests. Frustration led to rage. In fact, Saddam's grudge against Kuwait had been festering for some time. During the war with Iran, he asked permission for his troops to make temporary use of Kuwaiti territory in preparation for battle, Kuwait refused. Saddam's reaction, reported by a former bodyguard: "They refuse? Perfect. One day, the Kuwaitis will be gnawing their knuckles."

Similarly, Saddam's grievance against Israel is based on something more than run-of-the-region Arab hostility to the

Jewish state. Much of the world cheered in 1981, when Israeli bombs destroyed Iraq's nascent nuclear capabilities. But by his lights, Saddam suffered an unprovoked attack, resulting in destruction and humiliation. Ever since then, according to Paul Rogers, senior lecturer in the Department of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford in England, Saddam has lived on notice that he could expect the same treatment again: "In the mid-'80s, Iraq concluded that at some point in the early 1990s it would face an Israeli attack." Israel, Saddam and his advisers decided, would never accept an Iraq with nuclear weapons.

Neither, for that matter, would a number of other nations, prominently including the U.S. Who wants to see Saddam with the Bomb? Certainly not George Hush and the Israelis; also not Syria's President Hafez Assad, who personally loathes his Arab neighbor. Saddam's nightmare assumes a different shape: an array of enemies, in a constellation he has long anticipated, determined to prevent him from the means of defense and destruction they possess in abundance.

To see the world as Saddam sees it is certainly not to condone the vision. He would probably approve of some of the unflattering adjectives that can be attached to him, including dangerous, devious and distrustful. These qualities can disarm, overpower or outsmart those not equally well prepared. Saddam has survived and prevailed within a system that favored the feral and punished the mild, and his actions have only served to worsen that system for those who follow him. If anything, he has, consciously or not, made the lives of his subjects and enemies more harrowing than they were before. Moving from the mud hut to a place at the world's table is hard work; no hostages will be taken. Has he exploited Middle East tensions and hatreds for his own purposes and hunger for power? Certainly. Are those tensions and hatreds real, no matter what use Saddam has made of them? Unfortunately, yes.

The greatest current illusion holds that getting rid of Saddam, either by dropping a bomb into his bunker or by leaving him to the mercies of his own disappointed, defeated people, will cut the knot now choking the Middle East. Saddam dead—viewed by many Arabs as another victim of the Great Satan—will buy relief, but the fury will return; another revolution in the wheel of rage that has been grinding in that part of the world for centuries. Saddam's most enduring legacy may be his refusal to halt that process. Even his enemies concede him a certain charisma and brilliance. Could he, after suffering and clawing his way to power, have used his influence to bring peace to the region? He did not try, and, in any case, the world is no longer waiting for an answer.

—Reported by
Dean Fischer/Riyadh and Scott MacLeod/Amman,
with other bureaus

America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

The Villain's Advantage



Amid the sirens and explosions, a puzzlement occurs. With 5.3 billion people on the planet, how can one of them cause so much trouble for all the rest?

What's more, this particular troublemaker seems a travesty of the great-man theory of history and an insult to the modern world's sense of itself. Just when we were getting serious about the 21st century, along comes this atavistic menace. With his 1930s brand of aggression and his medieval tirades, Saddam Hussein has succeeded beyond his dreams and our nightmares in tying our lives in knots. Even if he can't get us with his Scuds, we're in range of his terrorist "commandos." And a Saddam recession, if not depression, may be with us longer than he will.

There is nothing new in the phenomenon of a single audacious individual grabbing humanity by the throat. But Alexander, Caesar, Charlemagne, Genghis Khan and Napoleon all started near the center of the world they set out to conquer. Not too long ago, Saddam would have been a peripheral nuisance—a pirate or a warlord meriting the dispatch of an expeditionary force from some imperial metropole.

Part of what empowers Saddam is technology. Advanced weaponry can be a great equalizer. Iraq is a Third World country that was well on its way to acquiring a First World arsenal.

Driving Saddam's hardware is the most lethal software. He is a master of 20th century totalitarianism. In *Republic of Fear*, reissued last year by Pantheon, Samir al-Khalil argues that Saddam's political forebears include not just Adolf Hitler—the precedent George Bush likes to stress—but Joseph Stalin as well. A corollary to the cult of personality is the principle that everyone but the leader is expendable. In addition to ensuring obedience, terror reminds the followers that they are cannon fodder in the struggle ("the mother of battles," as Saddam would have it) against all who oppose Numero Uno. The state itself becomes an instrument for achieving his goals, no matter how devastating to the interests of the people.

Hence, when it comes to getting their way and making their mark, totalitarians have a perverse advantage over even the most strong-willed democrats. At some point in their careers, Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle, Lyndon Johnson and Margaret Thatcher all unwillingly became private citizens because their constituents decided it should be so. Ending Hitler's chancellorship required a global conflagration.

There is, in the annals of totalitarianism, one spectacular anomaly—the strange case of Mikhail Gorbachev. He drew on the powers vested in him by the Stalinist system to liberate the foreign satellites and liberalize the internal order of the U.S.S.R. That was the miracle of Gorbachev I.

Sadly, a totalitarian trait has survived in Gorbachev: the delusion of his own indispensability. He could have been the hero of Baltic independence and of reform in its triumph over reaction. But that might have meant yielding to other, democratically elected leaders. So now he is the villain. That is the tragedy of Gorbachev II.

Last week his new Foreign Minister, Alexander Bessmertnykh, was at pains to deny that there is any backsliding in Soviet support for the anti-Saddam coalition. Of course there is. The more a state relies on repression at home, the more likely it is to regard intimidation and invasion as the norm abroad.

Totalitarianism often gets the jump on democracy when the two clash. The leader of free people cannot move them to fight except by persuasion and consensus. Hence movement is often belated, after war has already started. So it was with the entry of the U.S. into World War II, and so it was in the present conflict, which began on Aug. 2, when Saddam attacked Kuwait, not on Jan. 16, when the alliance finally struck back.

Once the battle is joined, the ruthlessness gap continues to favor the aggressor. A leader who will stop at nothing tends, naturally, to go a long way against adversaries who observe certain restraints and conventions of decency. The law of the jungle is called that because the beastly threaten, by their sheer beastliness, to prevail over the civilized. That is why, as Saddam's neighbors await his next move, they don their gas masks.

The U.S. and its partners are trying to limit casualties in their ranks and among civilians in Iraq, while Saddam boasts of his willingness to lose tens of thousands of his own troops in a single engagement, and deliberately targets cities. The moral equivalent of his dumping oil into the Persian Gulf would be poisoning the Tigris and Euphrates or tampering with the dams at their headwaters. Yet both measures are out of the question. By the same token, if Saddam had nuclear weapons, he might very well use them; the U.S. does have nukes, but it will never use them.

That difference is the essence of why this war had to be fought, why it must be won and why winning it will not be easy.



He left office when the people said he must



Ending his chancellorship took a global war

THE ALLIES

Good Riddance To Arms

Why two economic superpowers, Germany and Japan, are such reluctant warriors

By JAMES WALSH



How unlike Teutonic Knights or samurai, mutter their critics, are these modern specimens of great powers. When the call to battle Saddam Hussein bu-

gled forth, Germany and Japan begged off as conscientious objectors. Though they have flourished and grown rich behind U.S. defense cordons, both countries quailed at the call to arms. War with Iraq? The wolf that ate Kuwait was not at their door. Detering aggression? Bonn's attitude amounted to "Let George do it." Standing fast by a security partner? Washington found it apt that Tokyo is ringing in the Year of the Sheep.

So stand the accused. Overlooked somehow in their summary court-martial, however, has been 50 years of history. Five decades ago, Germany and Japan were roundly reviled as the scourges of civilization, martial societies gone almost irredeemably mad. Amid the ashes of 1945, the two Axis allies were warned against ever taking a gun beyond their borders again. Children were taught that their fathers and grandfathers committed the worst crimes known to man. The governments were forced to rely on other nations for protection. War was wrong. Gradually, as the lessons sank in, both countries were allowed to rebuild their armed forces, but under some of the strictest self-defense limits in the world.

Should the two nations be tempted to lapse, moreover, any number of watchdogs stand ready to pounce. Japan's Asian neighbors tend to bark at the least whiff of what they suspect might be "resurgent militarism." Last March, Major General Henry Stackpole, the commander of U.S. Marines based in Japan, defended America's troop presence there: "No one wants a re-armed, resurgent Japan. So we are a cup in the bottle, so to speak."

When the two Germans prepared to unite last year, one allied anxiety concerned what kind of extraterritorial storm-trooper the reborn Fatherland might prove to be. In July, Nicholas Ridley, then Britain's Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, publicly stated what many privately



thought when he said that proposals for a European Community common currency were "a German racket designed to take over the whole of Europe." World War II, he added, was "useful to remember."

Now Germany and Japan are being assailed for their pacifism. Americans and Britons complain that Germany and Japan have failed to measure up as allies and as responsible members of the world community: despite their own vested interests in the gulf, they are not doing their fair share.

Stung by the criticism, Bonn and Tokyo in late January ponied up sizable additional aid: \$5.5 billion and \$9 billion, respectively. Germany also pledged to send anti-aircraft missile units to Turkey and defensive military equipment to Israel. Japan assigned five military C-130 transport aircraft to repatriate Asian workers fleeing the war zone. Yet so powerful is their nations' abhorrence of war that Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu risked political rebellion.

Why? The victors of 1945 cultivated pacifism among their defeated enemies with a will. Under its U.S.-drafted 1946 constitution, Japan "forever" forswore recourse to "the threat or use of force" internationally. Less sweeping strictures went into West Germany's 1949 Basic Law, the covenant serving united Germany today. Both nations have fervently embraced pacifism. A January opinion poll asked Germans which country ranked as their ideal: 40% chose neutral Switzerland.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait last August knocked this comfortable quietism sideways. Kohl and Kaifu struggled to live up to allied expectations, but each soon found himself in a political minefield. Kohl had to back off from a suggestion that German soldiers might legally go to the gulf. Kaifu proposed to dispatch troops to noncombat support roles well behind the lines: Japan erupted like a reactivated Mount Fuji.

Kaifu's proposal, the Japanese decided, went beyond all bounds of the taboo on

military missions abroad, and the proposal was stillborn. His new idea, of rescuing refugees with C-130s, may also get shot down—though he insists that he is legally free to send them without Diet approval.

Yet opinion in both countries is slowly changing. While the majority of Germans still strongly oppose participation in the war, they are beginning to ponder their country's global role. To many Japanese, the crisis is no longer just *taigan no taji*—a fire on the other side of the river. Support for the U.S. has firmed up, reports a leading opposition Diet member. Says she: "We take it seriously that America, our longtime ally, is in trouble."

Washington has not insisted that German and Japanese soldiers help confront Saddam. But when Germans began debating just what common-defense obligations they owed Turkey, a senior Bush Administration official says, it amounted to "shaving at the edges of their NATO commitment." London was also disgruntled. Alan Clark, Britain's junior Defense Minister, noted that "people plugging the Euro-unity notion"—he meant Germans—have envisaged a common defense policy. But "at the first major test," said Clark, "they ran for the cellars."

However understandable the inhibitions of Germany and Japan may be, their allies have a point. The time may have arrived when these two nations must begin to find a constructive international role commensurate with their economic strength. Some prominent Japanese agree that the country's pacifism has become in practice isolationism. Kohl echoed that view with respect to his country last week. Addressing the Bundestag, the Chancellor said, "There can be no safe little corner in world politics for us Germans. We have to face up to our responsibility, whether we like it or not."

—Reported by Daniel Benjamin/
Bonn and Barry Hillenbrand/Tokyo, with other
bureaus

ENVIRONMENT

Dead Sea in the Making

A fragile ecosystem brimming with life is headed for destruction

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK



Another full-fledged war began last week, complete with its own heavy weapons, intelligence reports and international team of experts on strategy and tactics.

This one was against an enemy no less redoubtable than Saddam's army: an oil slick estimated at 80 km (50 miles) long and 19 km (12 miles) wide that is breaking into pieces as it spreads down the Persian Gulf, its consistency like that of melted chocolate.

An estimated 1.1 billion liters (294 million gal.) of crude oil had escaped from Kuwait's Sea Island terminal before allied bombing raids on pumps feeding the facility reduced the torrent to a trickle. That makes the spill by far the largest ever, not 12 times the size of the 1989 *Exxon Valdez* disaster, as originally thought, but 27 times as large. And that does not include oil that began gushing last week from a second spill farther north. The magnitude of the mess is such that "it can't be cleaned up," says Jim Rhodes, of ABASCO, a maker of cleanup equipment based in Houston.

Saddam Hussein may have engineered the spill to foil any allied plans for an amphibious invasion, but he was also probably trying to shut down seaside desalination plants that provide much of the fresh water for Saudi Arabia's Eastern province. Another target may have been Saudi power stations and oil refineries, which rely on seawater for cooling. Saddam's action will not prevent an invasion, says the Pentagon, but temporary shutdowns of plants and refineries seem inevitable.

The danger is vastly greater, though, for the billions of creatures that inhabit the Persian Gulf. The gulf waters, shores and islands are dotted with coral reefs, mangrove swamps and beds of sea grass and algae, brimming with birds, sea turtles, fish and marine mammals. This complex ecosystem, already pushed to the limits of survival by years of pollution, is now threatened with total collapse by the inexorable spread of the smothering, toxic oil.

Early on, experts might have blunted the slick's destructive power by burning off some of the oil, using chemical dispersants to break it up and removing more with surface-skimming devices deployed from boats. But the best they could hope for in a war zone was to protect a few key spots,

"We learned in the *Exxon Valdez* cleanup that you can't control the oil but you can exclude it from a small area," says Randy Bayliss, a consultant involved in the Alaskan effort.

Workers last week began placing miles of plastic booms around the desalination facilities. Because petroleum generally

floats on water, such booms, which extend up to 1 m (3 ft.) below the surface, can contain a slick. The next step is to put skimming equipment inside the booms and begin scooping up the oil, either with vacuuming devices or by drawing oil-absorbent plastic ropes through it and wringing them out. Some of the crude can be salvaged as kerosene.

Such techniques work best during the early days of a spill, before the crude begins to separate. Unfortunately, by the time a U.S. oil-spill assessment team arrived on the scene, the more volatile components of the oil had evaporated, leaving heavier chemicals that were whipped by waves into a thick water-oil "mousse" or turned into tar balls, which sink.

THREATENED:

BOTTLENOSE DOLPHIN
Familiar as TV's Flipper, this intelligent mammal has but two enemies: sharks and humans.



DUGONG
Facing extinction, the docile cousin of the manatee is said to have inspired the myth of mermaids.



GREEN TURTLE
Long hunted for its meat and eggs, this endangered reptile lives in coastal waters and can grow to 1.4 m (4½ ft.).



CASPIAN TERN
Similar to sea gulls, these graceful flyers winter in the gulf and breed on sandbanks—where oil slicks often end up.



The spilled Kuwaiti oil is relatively light, so the separation process occurs quickly. The resulting small globules can more easily infiltrate the desalination plants' intake pipes, 5 m (16 ft.) below the surface. Even tiny amounts of oil would affect the smell and taste of the water, and greater amounts could damage the desalination equipment.

The plants will therefore probably be shut at the first hint of contamination, an event that would be likely to trigger severe water rationing. The Jubail plant alone provides 80% of Riyadh's drinking water, while the Azziziyah plant in al-Khobar serves half a million residents of the Eastern province. Transporting desalinated water from the Red Sea or digging new wells and converting brackish groundwater to sweet water would be time-consuming alternatives.

There was little hope that the oil would stay offshore. For most of last week winds and currents drove the slick into Saudi coastal waters at a rate of 16 km (10 miles) a day. Though strong winds from the south intervened over the weekend to push the oil away, granting the Saudis a few more days to mount defenses against it, the slick was expected to reach Jubail sometime this week. From there it is expected to move on to the shore of the heavily populated Dhahran-al-Khobar area.

Ecologists say this particular stretch of the planet is extraordinarily sensitive to upheaval. The water is very salty, and temperatures vary widely from one season to another. As a result, indigenous animals and plants are finely attuned to specialized conditions. The Persian Gulf is also isolated, with only one narrow outlet—the Strait of Hormuz, just 55 km (34 miles) across. "It takes three to five years for the water to be flushed out," says Abdul Aziz Abu Zinada, Secretary General of the Saudi National Commission for Wildlife Conservation and Development. By contrast, Prince William Sound, site of the Exxon Valdez accident, is cleansed every 28 days.

The gulf differs from the sound in other ways as well. It averages only 35 m (110 ft.) deep—about one-third the depth of the sound, so there is less water to dilute the oil. The gently sloping shoreline provides flat beds for mangroves and sea grass. Also, "the fetch of the waves is not high," says John Grainger, a British scientist working with the SCWCD, "so wave action is not very cleansing."

Much of the gulf's rich sea life is dependent on mud flats, many of which lie right in the oil slick's path. They are home to hordes of snails that feed on algae. Young fish eat the debris produced by the roots of mangroves, which grow in the mud, while nearby sea-grass beds serve as shrimp nurseries. Says Grainger: "The algal stretches, coral reefs and sea grass are the major driving forces of the gulf ecosystem."

Coral reefs, which team with sea life, will probably die back as much as 3 m (10 ft.) below the surface. "It could be tens of

years if not centuries before some of the reefs come back," says Roger McManus, president of the Center for Marine Conservation. Many of the creatures within the reefs—starfish, shrimp, lobsters, urchins, sea snakes and a variety of fish—would also be sacrificed.

Birds, including terns, sandpipers, curlews, ducks and cormorants, will be among the most immediate and visible victims of the spill. Their plumage becomes coated with oil, depriving them of the ability to regulate their body temperature. Hundreds of Saudis in the Jubail area have volunteered to wash the oil off birds. But even if some birds are cleaned, many will die from eating contaminated mollusks and worms in the mud flats.

Commercially important fish such as tuna, mackerel and sardines are threat-

ened as well, as are hawksbill and green turtles. Sea mammals are also vulnerable, including dolphins, whales and dugongs, an endangered species similar to Florida's manatees. Only about 7,000 of these docile, 1.5-ton vegetarians are in the gulf, one of the world's largest populations.

Nature has a way of confounding even experts' predictions. After all, Prince William Sound recovered from the Exxon Valdez disaster more quickly than expected. But no one has ever seen a spill of this size, and no one can say that "eco-terrorism" in the gulf is over. The Iraqis could, in the words of an American engineer, let "rivers of oil run into the sea." Saudi and U.S. forces would try to stop that, but it may already be too late to prevent the teeming gulf from becoming a dead sea. —Reported by Ted Gup/Washington and Lara Marlowe/Dhahran



THE MORAL DEBATE

A Just Conflict, or Just a Conflict?

George Bush invokes a long-standing Christian doctrine to defend his military action against Saddam

By RICHARD N. OSTLING



"We know that this is a just war, and we know that, God willing, this is a war we will win."

George Bush prefers action to abstraction, but last week he delivered a fervent argument to bolster support for the war with Iraq. In a speech before a Washington audience of radio and TV Protestant evangelists, he invoked a long-standing Christian doctrine in the battle against Saddam Hussein, that of the "just war."

Bush's words were a direct response to the unusually widespread criticism of the war in American religious circles. The Roman Catholic hierarchy has questioned whether the U.S.-led military action meets the traditional just-war criteria. The war has been branded "morally indefensible" by officials of Eastern Orthodox and mainline Protestant groups affiliated with the National Council of Churches, including Edmond Browning, the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, Bush's denomination.

Christianity, with its emphasis on universal love, has always had a struggle with the idea of war. Most early believers refused to bear arms. After the rulers of the Roman Empire embraced Christianity in the 4th century, St. Augustine first elaborated the limited argument in favor of military action. Wrote the North African bishop and theologian: "War should be waged only as a necessity, and waged only that God may by it deliver men from the necessity and preserve them in peace."

The just-war doctrine was refined in another era when Christians waged war against Muslims, the time of the Crusades. In the 13th century, 70 years after the First Crusade was launched to recapture the Holy Land, St. Thomas Aquinas listed three elements of a just war: combat must be waged by competent government authority, the cause must be just, and there must be a "right intention" to promote good. Later Catholic thinkers added the notions that war should be a "last resort," that it should have a probability of success, that anticipated good results must outweigh the suffering that it would cause and that war should be "discriminate" to protect noncombatants.

Protestant and Jewish thinkers developed similar theories. To Martin Luther,



Pope Urban II and Peter the Hermit exhorting the faithful to join the First Crusade (1095-99)
Theory shaped during another era when Christians were fighting Muslims in the Middle East.

the power of temporal rulers was to be "turned only against the wicked, to hold them in check and keep them at peace, and to protect and save the righteous." In practice, however, most clergy in wartime preached the righteousness of their own nations' cause. Only after the fact did scholars contemplate the moral wisdom of various wars, as occurred in America following the Spanish-American War and World War I. Even World War II, despite the evils of Nazism, was deemed "just" only after the U.S. became involved.

America's concept of itself as a moral warrior suffered its most decisive setback in Vietnam. Though many clergy initially

supported the American intervention, debate over the "justness" of U.S. involvement developed alongside secular opposition to the war. By 1971 the Catholic hierarchy declared, "Whatever good we hope to achieve through continued involvement in this war is now outweighed by the destruction of human life and of moral values which it inflicts."

Bush's clerical critics find little to dispute in many of the just-war criteria. Questions about whether "competent authority" endorsed the gulf campaign died out once Congress had voted its support. The moral opposition revolves around two classical yardsticks. "We believe that

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THE WEEK IN

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[the use of] offensive force in this situation would likely violate the principles of last resort and proportionality," stated the President of the U.S. Catholic hierarchy, Cincinnati's Archbishop Daniel Pitarczyk, as the Jan. 15 deadline for Iraq's withdrawal passed.

The question of "last resort" focuses on alternatives to force, notably economic sanctions. The newly retired Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, hoped that economic sanctions would be tried for months more, even up to a year, before any resort to force. An even more difficult criterion to assess is "proportionality," the weighing of the good and evil results. The antiwar protest from leaders of the National Council of Churches included forecasts of hundreds of thousands of casualties and damage lasting "for generations to come."

The proportionality issue has also sparked concern at the Vatican. *La Civiltà Cattolica*, a Jesuit fortnightly in Rome that usually reflects Vatican thinking, has declared that the extent of damage wrought by both conventional and nuclear weaponry all but ends the prospect that any war could be deemed just. The Vati-

WHAT MAKES WAR JUST

- It pursues a "just cause," such as self-defense or the conquest of evil.
- It is declared and directed by a "competent authority."
- It is a "last resort" after peaceful means have failed.
- It carries at least a "probability" of success.
- It conforms to "proportionality"—the good to be achieved will outweigh the damage done.
- It is "discriminate," avoiding harm to noncombatants where possible.

can's doctrinal overseer, Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, took the same viewpoint in a radio interview after the bombing of Iraq began, but Pope John Paul II has not gone that far.

Not all religious thinkers are skeptical. Boston's Bernard Cardinal Law, for one, sees a "regrettable" choice: "either to let [Saddam] continue to wreak his havoc unchecked or to defend the cause of justice with arms." Protestant evangelist Billy Graham agrees: "Sometimes it becomes necessary to fight the strong in order to protect the weak." Jewish groups cite the manifest threat that Iraq poses to Israel as well as to Arab lands.

President Bush took up almost all those

issues in his speech last week. On "last resort," the President contended that "extraordinary diplomatic efforts" had preceded hostilities. On discrimination and proportionality, Bush insisted that "we are doing everything possible, believe me, to avoid hurting the innocent," an assertion buttressed in numerous military briefings. Addressing the "probability" test, Bush has said repeatedly that the troops have the means to win.

In conducting his point-by-point argument, Bush may not have satisfied many of his religious critics. But for the moment at least he gave them something to ponder, and on their own terms. —With reporting by Robert Ajemian/Boston and Cathy Booth/Miami

Islam's Idea of "Holy War"

There is no exact Islamic equivalent to the concept of just war, but an equally complex notion stands in its place: jihad. The term has become disturbingly familiar to Westerners, but its meaning is far broader than holy war, the sense in which it has been brandished by Saddam Hussein and numerous Middle East militants. In the Koran the Prophet Muhammad is depicted as a divinely inspired military leader who unified formerly separate Arab tribes around his new faith. While the Koran most often uses the concept of jihad in the military sense, the word actually translates as "striving." According to an authoritative tradition, Muhammad returned from one of his early battles saying it was time to move from the "lesser jihad" (war) to the "greater jihad" of spiritual effort.

During the century after Muhammad's death in 632, Muslim conquerors established sway from Spain to the borders of India. Islamic scholars of the era emphasized militaristic verses of the Koran over those that counsel peace-making. Muslims spoke of the earth as being divided between the *dar ul-Islam* (realm of Islam) and the *dar ul-harb* (realm of war), implying a need for ongoing combat to extend the faith's domain. In succeeding centuries, as Muslims consolidated a multinational empire, the language of militant jihad faded.

Believers revived the term in modern times as Muslim areas fell under Western control or influence. One of the first to do so was Muhammad Ahmad, the 19th century Mahdi who raised an Islamic insurgency against British colonialism in the Sudan in the 1880s. The Ottoman Turks declared jihad against Britain during World War I. Calls to holy war took on new urgency,



The Mahdi: resisting the West

and new meaning, with the creation of Israel in 1948. Since then the term has been used—and abused—to justify at least three regional wars plus terrorism and murder, not only against infidels but also toward fellow Muslims such as Egypt's President Anwar Sadat.

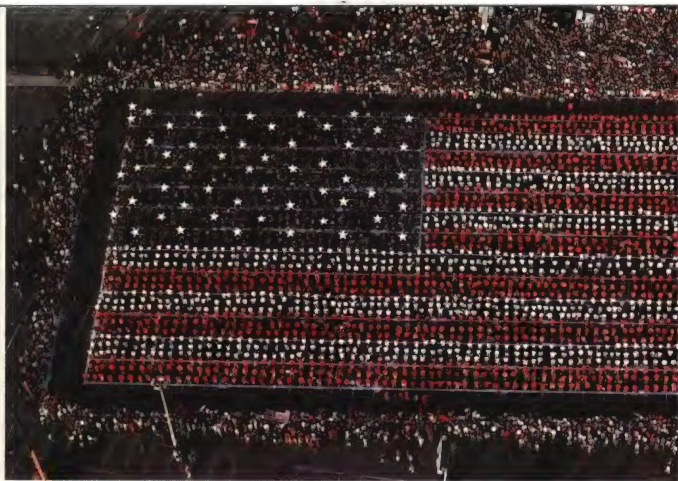
Who has the religious authority to declare jihad? In Islam's dominant Sunni branch, that power formerly belonged to the caliph, or political successor of Muhammad, who united religious and temporal rulership. But no caliphate has existed since 1924, and Sunni jurists today believe the power rests with any legitimate Muslim political authority. Lufti Dogan, a former Turkish Religious Affairs Minister, says all Muslims can be called to jihad, but there is greater receptivity to the call in Shi'ism, the minority branch of Islam that is dominant in Iran.

Few believers take seriously the jihad call issued last August by Saddam. For their part, Saudi Arabia's strict Islamic rulers obtained a *fatwa* (ruling) last month from their ranking religious figure, who declared that self-defense justified holy war against Saddam.

In addition to a theological framework for the use of force, Islam, like Christianity and Judaism, offers moral rules for the conduct of combat. Early Muslim authorities vigorously opposed the mistreatment of children, women, diplomats and hostages and inveighed against poisoned weapons or abuse of natural resources (in enemy territory "do not hew down a date palm nor burn it..."). On those matters, and many others, Saddam Hussein is not much of a Muslim, whatever his claims.

—By Richard N. Ostling

With reporting by David Alkman/Cairo



THE HOME FRONT

Land That They Love

Patriotism and its symbols dominate the debate over the gulf war as both sides emphasize concern for the soldiers and for the fate of the nation

By NANCY GIBBS



Of all ennobling sentiments, patriotism may be the most easily manipulated. On the one hand, it gives powerful expression to what is best in a nation's character: a commitment to principle, a willingness to sacrifice, a devotion to the community by the choice of the individual. But among its toxic fruits are intolerance, belligerence and blind obedience, perhaps because it blooms most luxuriantly during times of war. Tyrants know this. It was Hitler's henchman Hermann Göring who noted that "all you have to do is tell people they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in every country."

All the more remarkable, and encouraging, that in America's domestic debate over the war in the gulf, patriotism has not

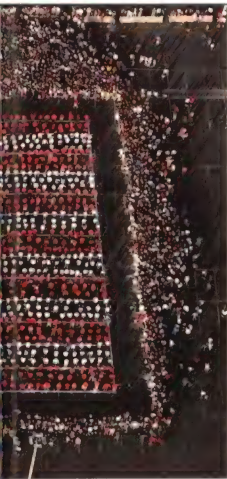
taken sides. Supporters of the use of force have no monopoly on national pride, any more than protesters have sole claim to the desire for peace. Antiwar demonstrators are waving flags, not burning them, praising and praying for the troops even as they condemn the policies that sent them to the front. SUPPORT OUR TROOPS, read signs at a huge Washington peace rally two weeks ago; BRING THEM HOME NOW. Their opponents, meanwhile, carry banners saying WE WANT PEACE, BUT NOT WITH SADDAM. Between the extremes of NO BLOOD FOR OIL and NUKE IRAQ, the middle ground is filled with mature ambivalence.

This attitude explains why the overriding theme on the home front is concern for the soldiers and compassion for their families. For three weeks now, Americans have sought, with anthems and flags and bells, with care packages and valentines and yellow ribbons, to find ways of expressing solidarity with those most at risk and for their loved ones. There is a measure of atone-

ment in this by a country that treated Vietnam veterans with unjustified contempt. "When these guys come back, we're going to make sure they come back to a hero's welcome," says Doug Swardstrom, a pro-war investment counselor in Los Angeles. "We're going to organize the biggest parade they've ever seen."

In the meantime, there is a parade of gestures. A tattoo parlor in Houston reports a 40% jump in business, mostly for military designs. A waitress in Rocky Hill, Conn., told her boss he could fire her if he liked, but she would not remove her red, white and blue ribbon. In Pine Bluff, Ark., Deborah Hurt has sent personal letters to nearly 400 fellow Arkansans serving in the gulf. "I had seven brothers; six were in the military, and four served in Vietnam," she says. "I saw what they came home to. I made a promise when I was 16 years old not to let that happen again."

Not all the gestures are symbolic. Military recruiters report a surge of inquiries in



San Diego: thousands of people met at a stadium parking lot to form a human flag

distraction of war that deflects energy and money and attention from battles being waged closer to home. What is victory worth, they wonder, if returning soldiers cannot find a house or a job or health care once the battle ends? "We're saying support the soldiers, bring them home alive," says Searcy. "There's nothing unpatriotic about that. There isn't the gap between the troops and families and the protesters that there was with Vietnam."

Both the pro- and antiwar camps include some unlikely converts. Among those marching against the President's policy are veterans and families of soldiers in the gulf. Recent rallies have absorbed all manner of fringe groups (Lesbian Zionists for Peace, for example), but they have also tapped into mainstream movements that cut across lines of race, class, age and gender.

On the other side, the breadth of support for Bush reflects in part the depth of horror at Saddam Hussein. "Saddam is the perfect villain, and he keeps on proving it," says Anne Lewis, a devoutly liberal Democrat who is the unlikely founder of the Committee for Peace and Security in the Gulf, formed to rally Americans around the President's policy. "Having been quick to criticize Administration policy in the past, I wanted to weigh in when I thought what they were doing was right." Some historians, however, warn of a honeymoon period. "If the war goes badly," notes University of Rochester political scientist John Mueller, "or the costs are too high, support will drop."

One reason for moderation on both sides of the debate is that the issues are so complicated, the information so limited. There is a willingness to reserve judgment and reject jingoism. "People are confused about this war," says Ray Neufeld, president of a Chicago greeting-card firm that plans to ship 250,000 valentines to the gulf. "They're watching real danger and potential death in their living rooms. Should they go on with their ordinary lives? Putting a ribbon on a mailbox or sending a card is something they can do."

While there is solace in the symbols, there is also room for a larger political message. Just as peace activists hope the movement will inspire a new era of social protest, their opponents are looking for a return to traditional values. "There's something about saying the Pledge of Allegiance and singing patriotic songs that makes us reflect on how far we've drifted from those values America was founded on," observes Marilyn Loeffel, president of FLARE, a

conservative, interdenominational group based in Memphis. She condemns the protesters as hypocritical and unpatriotic: "These people who are all for peace are ready to fistfight."

As ever in a time of inflamed rhetoric, there is plenty of hypocrisy to go around. "It is often easier to fight for principles," Adlai Stevenson once noted, "than to live up to them." Any claim to patriotism is made grotesque when it is expressed by torching Arab-owned stores. Or when it cheers war so long as someone else fights it, or protests violently against violence, or drives 900 miles at fuel-wasting speed to march beneath a banner that reads NO BLOOD FOR OIL. "War is the gravest moral question a nation can face," says Eduardo Cohen, 41, a former Vietnam infantryman who is now an antiwar activist in San Francisco. "This isn't a time to end discussion."

Fortunately, those who are watching from the sidelines sense a new respect for the right to disagree. It is this position, perhaps, which has prompted even the President to refer benignly to the protesters and not impugn their motives. For it is apparent to anyone who watches and listens carefully that the present debate, in all its complexity, is worth protecting. Prowar and antiwar activists must recognize what they have in common if their patriotism is to have any more meaning than a bouquet of balloons drifting above the blare of marching bands.

—**Reported by Blake Hallinan/San Francisco, James Willwerth/Los Angeles and Richard Woodbury/Houston**

the first days of the war. Many callers wanted to be sent to the gulf—particularly, recruiters noted wryly, those who turned out to be overage or underqualified. At some stations, like the Air Force recruiting office in Quincy, Mass., the number of enlistments almost doubled. "I haven't seen anything like this since I began recruiting," says Technical Sergeant Rick Shellene. "A lot of kids feel it is about time to start standing behind the country."

Every war trails memories of the last one, and so these days are filled with recollections of Vietnam. In 1970 construction workers in New York City dropped hot rivets on passing demonstrators. The alienation was complete as protesters lionized Ho Chi Minh and vilified the American Establishment. If generals routinely fight the last war, activists protest against it, and old radicals are still to be found. But this time, they are the exception. "The movement has learned from its mistakes," says the Rev. Emory Searcy Jr. of Atlanta, director of National Clergy and Laity Concerned, an umbrella church movement of 15,000.

The greatest lesson is that protest and patriotism may be thoroughly intertwined. A forest of flags rustles above the crowds at both pro- and antiwar rallies across the country. Devotion to America, peace activists argue, is what inspires them to march, to protest the loss of young lives and the



Georgia: a rally to support the soldiers

This time, patriotism does not take sides.

THE STATE OF THE UNION

So Who's Minding The Store?

Bush gets big applause with his inspiring war rhetoric. But domestically, is he embracing déjà voodoo economics all over again?

By MARGARET CARLSON



No speaker is more compelling than one who believes what he is saying. As the camera pulled in tight on the President's face during last Tuesday's State of the Union address, the millions of people tuning in saw a President who was finally projecting the vision that all the high-priced media handlers had been unable to supply for him. With images drawn from World War II, when as a young Navy pilot he flew 58 combat missions, Bush spoke convincingly of a cause that is just, moral and right; of the dangers of appeasement; of the need for sacrifice so that "the strong are neither tempted nor able to intimidate the weak." While he altered Churchill's "finest hour" to the rather less ringing "defining hour," the President did make a stab at the British Prime Minister's flinty eloquence as he prepared the country for a war that could prove long and bloody. "Let future generations understand the burden and blessings of

freedom," he declared. "Let them say, 'We stood where duty required us to stand.'" His words of praise for U.S. troops in the gulf brought the audience to its feet and touched off a stirring ovation.

But when Bush moved from the state of the world to the state of the country, he left his vision at the border. The domestic side of the speech, with its reform plans, blueprints, comprehensive strategies and dynamic program life cycles, sounded as if it had been cobbled together by a committee of tightfisted accountants. There was no hint of significant spending cuts or new taxes to finance the plans, and not even a mention of the deficit, which has risen from \$150 billion to a projected \$300 billion since Bush took office. Yes, there is a recession—but it is regional and temporary, and we will grow our way out of it. As for the banks, the President said, "There has been too much pessimism," as if there were something to cheer about in the \$500 billion collapse of the savings and loan industry.

Anticipating criticism for shirking problems at home, the President did not

stint on the time he spent talking about them: nearly half of his 47 minutes was given over to domestic affairs. But he offered a list of vague ideas, some that have been kicking around Republican circles for more than a decade. His proposal to turn over unspecified and underfunded federal programs to the states is a cross between Nixon's revenue sharing and Reagan's New Federalism, and solves the problems of neither approach. Proposed middle-class party favors like tax-free family savings accounts and penalty-free withdrawals from IRAs for first-time home buyers have already been soundly rejected by Congress. Even the proposals that sounded new were not: Republicans have long been willing to give up political-action committees, which favor incumbents (and in Congress, that means Democrats), preferring individual contributions from wealthy givers, which favor the G.O.P. And the idea of term limitations is a Republican dream, a way to give a League of Women Voters gloss to possibly reversing the Democratic control of Congress, which enjoys a 96% re-election rate.

The proposal to cut the capital-gains tax rate is déjà voodoo economics all over again. What is novel this time is that the plan is dead on arrival. Bush needs to placate conservatives, who are annoyed that he so easily gave up on their pet project during last fall's budget battle. But by tossing the issue to a blue-ribbon commission, the President has ensured its slow but certain demise. Resisting the temptation to court conservatives on emotional and divisive social issues, he made no mention of abortion, flag burning or affirmative action. Nor did he raise the controversial question of mili-

Postspeech kudos: though he won plaudits on foreign policy, the President seemed to have left his vision at the border



tary spending, except to call for shoring up a "refocused" Star Wars program in light of the successes scored by the Patriot antimissile system in the gulf. Overall military spending, however, is likely to decrease, according to the 1992 budget being submitted this week by the Pentagon, which calls for a \$3.9 billion cut in projected 1992 defense outlays of \$298.9 billion.

Although the populace is more willing to ask what it can do for the country than at any time in three decades, Bush only talked about sacrifice on the battlefield, not on the home front. Whether out of fear of linkage between the war and oil, or a wariness of doing anything reminiscent of the sweater-wearing, thermostat-lowering Carter Administration, Bush devoted just 30 seconds to the crucial question of energy policy.

That left him no time to address the recommendation of some Energy Department and White House budget officials for a gas tax big enough to encourage fuel conservation and fund the costly search for alternative sources (every penny a gallon raises an extra billion dollars). Bush ducked the issue even though he is well aware that the public knows U.S. troops would not be fighting in the Persian Gulf if the region were the world's leading producer of tapioca rather than the repository of 70% of the world's oil reserves. In a nationwide survey taken last month by bipartisan pollsters, oil was most often cited as the main reason for the U.S. presence in the Middle East. The U.S. is more reliant on foreign oil today than at any time since the 1973 oil shock; imports have doubled since then, and last year accounted for more than half the trade deficit. Though last fall's budget deliberations did produce a token 5¢-per-gal. increase in federal gasoline taxes, the possibility of further levies may have been scuttled when Republican pollster Robert Teeter found that Reagan Democrats were the idea's fiercest opponents.

For now, Bush has good reason to indulge his intrinsic indifference to such things as block grants and toxic-waste disposal. Being Commander in Chief is more glorious and important than being commander of enterprise zones. But without presidential leadership, inertia is likely to set in on the home front. Television screens flicker throughout the Federal Triangle as bureaucrats play *CNN* generals rather than go about the unglamorous work of governing. Reducing America's appetite for foreign oil, finding an affordable way to restore civility to cities that resemble war zones, giving the 20% of America's children who live in poverty a way out, funding medical care for the 37 million Americans who have no health insurance, preserving the water, the air and the land for the next generation—all demand attention, and all may prove every bit as difficult as liberating Kuwait.

—Reported by Dan Goodgame and Hays Goruy/Washington

The Presidency

Hugh Sidey

George Was There

There was a moment in the great ovation to U.S. desert forces when the cameras in the House chamber caught the face of Senator Ted Kennedy, as enraptured as everyone else by the applause that would not cease. But in the din came a tiny echo from more than two years ago at the Democratic Convention, when Kennedy fevered his audience with his litany of Bush's ditherings, following each charge with the taunt "Where was George?"

Last week George was there, the Commander in Chief who organized and launched one of this century's most awesome military exercises. Whether it will finally work is not the question here. His power in some ways has never been greater. The rolling applause for the men and women who serve in the Persian Gulf was a confirmation of sorts, even a little alarming in its hoarse embrace. Most Americans marched with Bush, and from the beginning of the crisis there was no doubt just where he was.

The aura of war followed Bush all last week, visibly enhancing his stature. More than 3,500 people jammed the Washington Hilton for the national prayer breakfast that Bush attended. The speakers engaged in a kind of nervous one-upmanship in tribute to God and the G.I. At the Washington Press Club Foundation's big dinner,



In Georgia with families of U.S. soldiers

which Bush did not attend, almost no one dared rib the President. One of the few good laughs of the night came from humorist Dave Barry who, professing evenhandedness after some gibes aimed at White House chief of staff John Sununu, said, "I would now level an equally cheap shot at a high-ranking, influential Democrat—if there were any." Speaker of the House Tom Foley laughed a little too hard. And on Friday when Bush visited three military bases in the South that had units in the gulf battle, there was an emotional intensity that topped anything Bush had ever encountered in this country.

How could the man Kennedy taunted be so resolute? And let's not forget those who derided him as a wimp, a lapdog, every divorced woman's first husband, a terminal preppy. His painful politeness and unwavering loyalty to Ronald Reagan through mountainous deficits and Iran-*contra* bumbling raised the question of his backbone. He waffled on issues like abortion and taxes, and even his supporters wondered in dark moments about his inner stuff. What this may suggest is one more flaw in our system of political assessment. In our dizzy campaigns we analyze a candidate too much from a few one-liners lofted by adversaries or twits. In the debate over terribly complex domestic issues, we frequently heap scorn on even marginally open minds that waver a bit.

History shows that the demands of war often reveal special qualities in Presidents not easily detected in the babble of a political campaign. For 5½ months Bush went down a straight road to battle. There have been no black moods for Bush as there were for John F. Kennedy in the Cuban missile crisis when he believed there was a likelihood of a nuclear exchange. Nor has Bush wandered through the darkened White House as Lyndon Johnson used to do, as much confused by his own experts as by his enemies in Vietnam. Richard Nixon sometimes sought solitude and brooded for hours over decisions on using American power. Bush sought out friends and Chinese food.

It may be that Bush went through all of the known tortures on the way to his decision. But they must have been entirely internal. There is as yet no enemy or friend who claims to have been witness when Bush was either uncertain or unclear. Some wimp. ■



Buthelezi and Mandela embrace peace

By JOHN GREENWALD

What a difference a year makes. Exactly 12 months ago, President F.W. de Klerk stunned his country by opening Parliament with a pledge to legalize the militantly anti-apartheid African National Congress and release A.N.C. leader Nelson Mandela from jail. With those milestones behind him, De Klerk surpassed expectations again last week by declaring his intention to bring a swift end to legally sanctioned racial segregation. He called on Parliament to repeal immediately the remaining pillars of discrimination that dictate where blacks can work and live. "There is neither time nor room for turning back," De Klerk declared. "There is only one road—ahead."

De Klerk asked lawmakers to dismantle the Group Areas Act, which segregates black and white residential areas, and the Land Acts, which bar blacks from owning land outside specially designated homelands. He unveiled a major surprise by promising to phase out the infamous Population Registration Act. That hated law underpins the entire apartheid system by forcing South Africans to register by racial group for political and economic purposes.

The President's "Manifesto for the New South Africa" drew a wildly mixed response. In Parliament outraged members of the opposition Conservative Party called De Klerk a "traitor to the nation" before

● SOUTH AFRICA

The Twilight Of Apartheid

De Klerk moves to sweep away the last legal pillars of racial inequality

staging the first mass opening-day walkout in the legislature's history. "The fight is on for the survival of white people," asserted Ferdie Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the Conservative Party.

Outside, anti-apartheid protesters complained that De Klerk's manifesto did not go far enough. A.N.C. supporters demanded immediate voting rights for 28 million blacks, who constitute 70% of the country's inhabitants but have no representation in the national government. Some 20,000 demonstrators marched before Cape Town's House of Assembly carrying placards that denounced the "racist Parliament." They demanded that Parliament, which is divided into chambers for whites, Asians and people of mixed race, be dissolved and replaced by an integrated constituent assembly. Declared Walter Sisulu, a veteran A.N.C. leader: "We don't have the vote. This is what our people want today."

De Klerk's speech capped one of the most fateful weeks in the long struggle against apartheid. Earlier, the A.N.C. and its major black power rival, the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, moved to end their bloody internecine strife. Mandela and Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi finally met for the first time in 28 years and asked their followers to "cease all attacks against one another with immediate effect." Feuding between the two factions has claimed as many as 8,000 lives since 1984. To underline the message, Mandela and Buthelezi agreed to tour the most violence-torn regions of the country.

Their reconciliation and De Klerk's repeal of apartheid set the stage for the next phase of the black campaign for equality. For years, outspoken critics of apartheid have argued that even though the legal pillars of discrimination were crumbling, the real test for the nation would come when it finally moved to enfranchise blacks. While the A.N.C. insists that only a one-man, one-vote rule would transfer power from whites to blacks, De Klerk envisions a multiracial government with a system of checks and balances that would give every ethnic group a dominant voice in its own affairs.

The President must now walk a tightrope, maintaining the support of whites while negotiating with black leaders for a new constitution that grants universal suffrage. De Klerk emphasized last week that he had no intention of agreeing to a black-dominated interim government that would oversee the transition to a new regime. At the same time, he reaffirmed plans to convene a multiracial, all-party conference to draft the new constitution.

De Klerk's anti-apartheid moves seemed almost to be following a script written in Washington. When the U.S. Congress imposed economic sanctions in 1986, lawmakers said they would lift the ban only if Pretoria enacted a list of major reforms. These ranged from the release of Mandela to the abolition of the Population Registration Act. Now De Klerk has fulfilled or promised to meet each demand, leaving only the release of all political prisoners to be carried out. Pretoria is clearly

and opening segregated beaches.

A.N.C. and other political groups.

"THERE IS ONLY ONE ROAD—AHEAD"

1989
Sept. 6: President F.W. de Klerk initiates reform by legalizing peaceful demonstrations

Oct. 15: The government releases six A.N.C. leaders from prison, including Walter Sisulu.

1990
Feb. 2: De Klerk lifts the ban outlawing the

Feb. 11: Nelson Mandela is freed from jail after 27 years.

May 2: The A.N.C. and the government hold their first formal talks and agree to negotiate



Still not enough: protesters in Cape Town demand immediate voting rights for disfranchised blacks

hoping for a swift lifting of sanctions. However, U.S. officials said last week that the prisoner issue remained a sticking point.

De Klerk appeared determined to root out virtually every major form of legal discrimination. Among the laws he promised to scrap was one that helped create the all-black homelands. Yet a few legal vestiges of apartheid will remain in a technical sense. Children who were born after the repeal of the Population Registration Act will no longer be classified by race, but the register will not be scrapped entirely until the new government comes in.

While the speech summoned South Africans to a new era of harmony, it also exposed the deep rifts that run through every level of the racially torn society. Despite the truce between Mandela and Buthelezi, the two leaders remain far apart in their strategy. As A.N.C. demonstrators called for immediate elections, Buthelezi applauded De Klerk's rejection of such a move, which the Zulu leader denounced as "a constitutional leap into the dark." At the same time, Buthelezi praised the De Klerk government for "lending its weight to breaking the back of apartheid."

Although the A.N.C. officially renounced antigovernment violence last year, Mandela still endorses mass demonstrations and strikes; Buthelezi calls them "anarchistic." He opposes the A.N.C. demand that economic sanctions continue against South Africa until blacks gain power. For its part, the A.N.C. accuses Inkatha of collaborating with the government by encouraging Zulus to live in their segregated homeland. Meanwhile, the A.N.C. has been burdened by the troubles of Mandela's wife Winnie, who faces trial as early as this week on charges of kidnapping and assault in connection with the 1988 death of a youth who allegedly died at the hands of her bodyguards.

Despite their differences, the A.N.C. and Inkatha have tentatively agreed to De Klerk's proposal for an all-party conference—or Great Indaba—to help design a multiracial legislature that would replace the white-dominated Parliament. The A.N.C. wants Pretoria to free all remaining political prisoners and allow exiles to return to South Africa before convening the Indaba. If such conditions are met and the talks remain on track, political analysts say elections could be held under a new constitution by late 1993.

But that timetable could grind to a halt amid fresh outbreaks of black-against-black violence or a growing backlash from disaffected whites. Less than 24 hours after Mandela and Buthelezi embraced last week, an A.N.C.-Inkatha clash killed at least eight people and injured 60 others in Natal province, where most of the country's 6 million Zulus live. In Pretoria police used nightsticks and tear gas to battle 5,000 white farmers who paralyzed traffic by parking farm vehicles on downtown streets. Backed by the Conservative Party and the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement, the protesters demanded an end to political reforms. The black violence and right-wing intransigence showed that the final days of apartheid could prove to be as tumultuous as any that have come before.

—Reported by Peter Hawthorne/

Cape Town

a new nonracial constitution.

June 7: De Klerk ends the national state of emergency in most parts of the country.

June 19: Parliament repeals the Separate Amenities Act, opening formerly whites-only

public facilities such as libraries, pools and parks.

Aug. 6: The A.N.C. agrees to suspend its "armed struggle."

Sept. 24: De Klerk is received by President

Bush on his first official visit to the U.S.

1991

Feb. 1: De Klerk announces repeal of the Land Acts, Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act, the remaining pillars of apartheid.

SOVIET UNION

New World Order? Or Law And Order?

Reformers fear that a crackdown on street crime and business fraud heralds more repressive moves



By JOHN KOHAN MOSCOW

Even in the best of times, Moscow was a militarized city, where officers in uniform rode the metro and army vehicles mingled with city traffic. But as tensions rise and visions of chaos begin to haunt the nation, jittery Muscovites have been paying more attention to all the soldiers in their midst.

As soldiers and sailors teamed up with police last week on joint patrols in cities across the country, the question of just what they were there for took on fresh urgency. Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov and Interior Minister Boris Pugo, who drafted the order in secret last Dec. 29, say the new patrols are intended to combat an odious side effect of economic and political liberalization: a steep rise in violent crime.

But many Soviets interpret the measure differently. They see it as one more piece of evidence that Mikhail Gorbachev has given way to hard-line pressures to curtail the reforms he ushered in himself. In the past month the Kremlin has sent the army into the Baltic republics, tightened controls over television and radio, outlawed 50- and 100-ruble notes and seems to have shelved plans for introducing a market economy. Gorbachev has also authorized KGB fraud squads to stamp out so-called economic crime. A new era of repression seems to be in the making.

While there is widespread resentment of these measures, many Soviets fear the confusion attending wholesale reform and welcome the reassurance that the central government does not intend to let liberalization get out of hand. The Soviet people

are accustomed to a system that guarantees order and stability, whatever the cost in individual liberties. Now that crime and disorder are up, people are frustrated and afraid. "I get the impression," says a State Department analyst, "that a lot of Soviets are saying, 'Let's get things calmed down.' And if it takes a little arbitrary justice to make life more stable, well, O.K."

But as democratic forces in the country pointed out, the dispatch of paratroops to Lithuania last month was first justified in the same way—as a limited move against draft dodgers. Yet it quickly turned into a bloody assault against pro-independence demonstrators that claimed the lives of 14 people.

Demands for law and order have become a favorite rallying cry of the hard-liners. Declared an Interior Ministry colonel: "People are afraid to walk the streets. Something must be done." But reformers are skeptical. Russian leader Boris Yeltsin, who now stands at the head of the democratic opposition, called the moves "a serious step toward dictatorship." Reformers argued that bringing troops into the streets has involved the military in areas beyond its competence. Said the independent weekly *Moscow News*: "The army must not be used as a muzzle on the people!"

The string of policy reversals cast something of a chill on U.S.-Soviet relations as well. Last week the superpowers agreed to postpone the presidential summit that had been scheduled for Feb. 11-13 in Moscow. The sensible reason was the gulf war and the need for more work on a strategic-arms treaty. But the U.S. was also attempting to indicate its disapproval

Soviet police on patrol in Moscow as crime and disorder raise fears of confusion

of the Kremlin's backsliding on reform.

Few of the signals from Moscow offered much cause for optimism. Gorbachev's decree on economic crime gave security squads the right to raid government enterprises, cooperatives, private businesses and even joint ventures involving foreign firms, and to carry out audits of their wares, cash holdings and accounts. The crackdown is supposed to wipe out the black market, but it may well trample underfoot the first fragile growth of free enterprise. Said Deputy of the Russian parliament Artyom Tarasov, a new Soviet entrepreneur: "This is no longer the politics of the free market but the politics of discipline."

With public confidence in the Kremlin steadily ebbing, ordinary Soviets doubted that either politics or public safety explained the security patrols. Citizens suspected that the troop "deployments" were going to be coupled with an announcement of steep price hikes: the Kremlin wanted to be ready in case the people rioted. Government officials assured the population that no such decision was coming any day soon.

If the rest of the country was suffering from a bad case of nerves, the troubled Baltic republics enjoyed a moment of relative calm. After meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh in Washington, President Bush said he had been given assurances that Moscow intended to withdraw some of its forces from the region and reopen talks with the republics. Interior Minister Pugo said that all paratroops, except those permanently stationed in the

Baltics, and two-thirds of the Interior Ministry forces would be withdrawn by week's end. In another conciliatory gesture, Gorbachev set up Kremlin delegations to begin talks with the Baltic republics.

There were signals too of a slight softening in the stance of Baltic leaders. "If we see signs of a reduction of the Soviet military presence in the republic now," admitted Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, "the step can become a good signal for talks." Nationalist governments in the three republics have rejected Gorbachev's plans for a nationwide referendum in March on the future of the union. The Lithuanians and Estonians plan to hold their own polls on independence before then. That would help defuse Moscow's charges that the Baltic governments only represent the views of radical minorities.

With the Baltics cooling down, Gorbachev's decision to send troops into the streets everywhere else seemed all the more bizarre. Even though the Defense and Interior ministries' order on joint patrols was dated a full month ago, Gorbachev gave his official authorization for the decree only last week. When he did publish the directive, it was considerably watered down and accompanied by provisions for local watchdog committees on "the activities of law-enforcement officers."

Reformers had been incensed by the permission for the joint patrols—and even armored vehicles—to control "mass actions by citizens" and "social-political activities." Their anger led Pugo to explain that the reference was not to "rallies" but to "hooliganism and other criminal offenses and nothing else." Pugo also said that each republic had the right to decide whether it wanted the army to join forces with local police. Taking him at his word, the Baltic republics and Georgia, Armenia and Moldavia promptly turned down the offer, and the Russian Federation called on Gorbachev to suspend the entire decree.

Mistrust of the security forces runs high—with good reason. According to Colonel Victor Alksnis, a spokesman for disenchanted reactionaries, the pro-Communist National Salvation Committee in Lithuania was prepared to seize power and expected Gorbachev to pave the way by imposing presidential rule. But Gorbachev did not act, leading Alksnis to conclude that "the President betrayed us."

The colonel put Gorbachev on notice that if he did not intend to use his powers more decisively he would face a mutiny within the army. At the same time, Gorbachev's hesitation to impose presidential rule in the Baltics or give his unequivocal support to military actions has not won him applause from reformers either. If the Kremlin has a strategy nowadays, it seems to be to get tough—then back down. But with the growing polarization between radicals and reactionaries, no one seems prepared to accept uncertainty anymore.

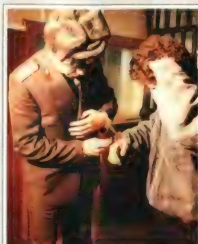
—With reporting by J.F.O. McAllister/Washington

Murder and Mayhem

The grisly scene broadcast on Soviet TV was filmed in a cramped Moscow apartment. A police detective ticked off the details: a man from out of town had called on some acquaintances; the visitor pulled a knife, stabbed the young woman and cracked her husband's skull with a blunt instrument. The woman lay dead on the floor, covered in her own blood. Medics tried to save her husband, but their faces showed little hope.

Such gruesome crimes were once relatively rare in the Soviet Union, whose cities were among the safest in the world. When murders and other violent crimes did occur, the public rarely found out, since official ideology maintained that they were the scourge of capitalism alone.

All that has changed. Crimes nationwide rose 32% in 1989 and an additional 13% last year; the sharpest jump was in grave crimes like murder, aggravated assault and rape, which increased 44% in January. Freed by *glasnost* to report such unpleasant facts, Soviet television and newspapers have turned graphic tales of violence into standard fare. The result has been to fuel public fears that chaos is im-



A burglary suspect on his way to a police cell

pending. "Before, people didn't know how much crime we had in this country," says Lieut. General Anatoly Alekseyev, head of the Interior Ministry's police college in Moscow. "The revelation that we have crime, and that it is rising, is a shock to the social psyche."

As shocking as it is to the average Soviet, the crime rate still falls well below levels in Western Europe and the U.S. But Gorbachev, prodded by his right-wing critics, has decided to crack down to satisfy demands for stability. Order in the Soviet Union used to be guaranteed by the security apparatus; fear prevented the majority from stepping out of line. Now, says Interior Ministry Colonel Alexander Gurov, "respect for law has not replaced fear, so we have a vacuum of legitimate authority."

The President is supported by ordinary Soviets obsessed with the disintegration of law and order. They blame much of the crime on "the mafia," an undefined evil that includes every criminal group from corrupt bureaucrats to clans that deal in prostitution and narcotics. Says Igor Karpets, former chief of the national criminal police: "Not every band of apartment thieves constitutes a mafia."

Still, organized criminals are emerging as a public menace. They occasionally settle disputes Chicago-style. Last October masked gunmen opened fire in a Moscow cooperative restaurant, then attacked diners with clubs and knives, leaving two people dead. Police claim that cooperatives, the semiprivate businesses that are among Gorbachev's few tangible economic successes, have become havens for criminal gangs, who exchange protection and access to the black market for a share in profits.

Far more prevalent are small-time holdups and burglaries. Muggers are not as pervasive as they are in, say, New York City, but they have become dangerous enough. Citizens are arming themselves in self-defense. Though Soviet law strictly controls private gun ownership, an illegal-weapons trade is growing. A popular alternative is the "gas gun," a pocket-size German-made pistol that fires tear gas and costs as little as \$25 on the black market.

Right-wing critics blame Gorbachev for the breakdown in authority and insist that the government restore order. But in a society ruled by totalitarian dictate for centuries, instilling respect for law and faith in the government's fair enforcement of it will take time. Gorbachev has spent five years promoting his vision of a Soviet Union governed by law. Using the army and KGB to crack down on crime may solve the immediate problem, but it will not bring the future he promises any closer.

—By James Carey/Moscow

Itchy, flaky scalp?

**What works
and how
do you choose.**

When you have an itchy, flaky scalp, you want *relief*, but how much can you expect from a treatment shampoo? A lot, say dermatologists, when you use the right formula for your particular condition. And when your problem goes deeper than an occasional "snowfall," many say you can't get better relief than from two therapeutic shampoos made by Neutrogena®: T/Gel® and T/Sal®. Here's how a dermatologist might explain the important differences:

When you have	Occasional dandruff	Persistent itchy, flaky scalp	Itching, flaking, and crusty build-up
Possible Causes	Occasional increase in cell turnover. Changes in the weather. Not shampooing often enough or rinsing well enough.	On-going rapid cell turnover. "Styling cap" from coatings of gels, sprays, etc. Using a shampoo that's ineffective for your condition. Psoriasis or seborrheic dermatitis.	Stubborn cell build-up. Resistant psoriasis or seborrheic dermatitis.
What works	A dandruff shampoo containing pyrithione zinc or selenium sulfide. Use as directed whenever the need arises.	Neutrogena® T/Gel® Therapeutic Shampoo. It's gentle enough to use every time you shampoo, so you'll have full-time control.	Neutrogena® T/Sal® Therapeutic Shampoo: use until the crusty build-up subsides. (Then use T/Gel to control itching and flaking between flare-ups.)
What you can expect	Choice of scents, lathers, consistencies. Widely available. Hair looks healthy and shiny.	Guaranteed relief of itching and flaking. Pleasant to use. Good fragrance, rich lather. Hair looks healthy and shiny.	Guaranteed removal of thick, crusty build-up. Pleasant fragrance and rich lather. Hair looks healthy and shiny.
Conditioning (if needed)	Use an oil-free conditioner to minimize build-up.	Use Neutrogena® T/Gel® Conditioner to extend the therapeutic action of T/Gel Shampoo.	Use Neutrogena T/Gel Conditioner to extend the therapeutic action of both T/Sal and T/Gel Shampoo.
Bottom Line Benefit	Temporary relief when you need it.	Control of persistent itching and flaking.	Pleasant therapy for severe scalp build-up.

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World Notes

GERMANY

Fall of The Mighty

For 15 years Harry Tisch was the leader of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, commanding more than 9 million members and almost limitless perks. But when communism fell, so did Tisch, and last week he became the first member of the former East German regime to go on trial for abusing his power. Among the charges against him: diverting \$70 million in union funds to personal projects, including the construction of a luxury hunting lodge on the Baltic.



Harry Tisch

In the Berlin courtroom, Tisch, who once reveled in the spotlight alongside East German head of state Erich Honecker, spoke in a barely audible voice and stared straight ahead with rheumy, vacant eyes. Defense attorneys said he had suffered a stroke, but the judge ruled that the trial should go on.

Absent from the proceedings was the former East German leader. Charged with issuing illegal shoot-to-kill orders to border guards, Honecker has avoided arrest by taking refuge in a military hospital outside Berlin. Several other former leaders are also under investigation, but most of them are elderly or ailing. With public resentment fading in the euphoria of German unity, Tisch could end up being the only one to face trial.



Menem congratulates Cavallo

ECONOMIES

Prescribing Shock Therapy

Plagued by hyperinflation, Argentina and Brazil, South America's two largest economies, last week entered different forms of shock treatment to slow runaway wage and price increases. Brazil announced a hold on wage increases until July and an indefinite freeze on prices. Economy Minister Zélia Cardoso de Mello also disclosed plans to dismantle much of the

country's elaborate system of indexation, which has been used since the 1960s to offset the effects of inflation. Among the system's inflation-fueling features scheduled to be phased out: so-called overnight bank accounts that pay interest to depositors by the day.

In Argentina, where a free fall in the value of the austral threatened to raise inflation astronomically, the central bank was forced to intervene. The appointment by President Carlos Saul Menem of a new Economy Minister, Domingo Cavallo, appeared to restore investor confidence. By week's end the austral had been stabilized—at a value of roughly 36% less against the dollar than a week earlier—and investment funds rose 40%. But inflation remains such an endemic problem for the economies of both Argentina and Brazil that the prospect of last week's actions leading to real progress remained doubtful at best.



Cardoso



A capital in ruins: the grisly wreckage of Barre's 21 years in power

SOMALIA

The Price Of Victory

The capital city of Mogadishu resembled a charnel house last week after victorious rebels drove President Mohammed Siad Barre into exile, ending 21 years of dictatorial rule. Dogs devoured hundreds of corpses in the streets following a month-long campaign that killed more than 5,000 civilians and forced tens of thousands to flee. Starving survivors had only fetid river water to drink, and looters reduced shattered buildings to empty shells.

Barre fled the city in a tank

minutes before the insurgents stormed the presidential palace. He reportedly escaped into neighboring Kenya, where authorities said they would grant him temporary asylum.

Prospects for the new government in Mogadishu seemed bleak. The coalition of rebels, which represents three Somali clans that have feuded for centuries, named hotel owner Ali Mahdi Mohammed, 52, interim President until elections could be held. But Mahdi's party, the United Somali Congress, grew angry at his appointment by a clique of elders and attacked the action as "hasty" and "unnatural." The tenuous troika could swiftly come unglued.

CANADA

Take It or Leave It

Deadlines do tend to concentrate the mind. That would seem to be the hope of Robert Bourassa, Quebec's premier, who last week delivered a clear ultimatum to Canada: draw up, by the end of 1992, a new constitution that gives Quebec greater powers—or the French-speaking province will vote on secession. Said Jean Allaire, head of the Quebec committee that drafted the challenge: "This proposal is the final and decisive test for Canada."

The same claims were made about Meech Lake, the plan for constitutional reforms supported by Quebec but defeated when two English-speaking provinces rejected its special provisions for the French seven months ago. That caused many observers to fear the breakup of

Canada. This time Quebec demands even greater autonomy in its affairs, claiming exclusive responsibility for agriculture, environment, energy, communications, commerce and



Bourassa presents his demand

"public security" as well as a larger role in Canadian foreign affairs and tax policy. Said Bourassa: "We want a fundamental change, not cosmetic change, in the structure of the country."

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Small Wonders

Burned by big-star salaries and fancy productions, Hollywood suddenly sees a hitmaking formula in films that are warm, playful and cheap to make

By RICHARD BEHAR

The hottest thing traipsing through Hollywood last week was *not* another \$1 million, half-written movie script, or Julia Roberts, or even

Warner Bros.' squad of shiny dark Jaguars. Instead it was a supposedly top-secret 28-page memo from Jeffrey Katzenberg, chief of Walt Disney Studios, to a small group of his colleagues. In the memo, which leaked out and instantly set fax machines buzzing all over town, Katzenberg called on the studio to avoid high-priced stars whenever possible, shun the "blockbuster mentality that has gripped our industry" and return to Disney's roots as a budget-minded filmmaker.

Disney isn't alone. Rival moguls at Warner and Paramount Pictures have begun preaching their own cost-containment messages. The reasons are as simple as a friendly ghost, an ingenious hooker and an eight-year-old hero. The three top-grossing films of 1990—*Ghost*, *Pretty Woman* and *Home Alone*—cost a relative pittance to produce and were driven by syrupy, uplifting stories rather than star power. These films succeeded beyond all hopes in a year when studios shelled out \$30 million to \$60 million to make films with big-name stars and fancy productions. Many of these budget busters (among them: *Another 48 Hrs.*, *The Bonfire of the Vanities*, *Days of Thunder* and *Rocky V*) fell short of expectations or flopped outright.

Sales of movie tickets in the U.S. fell 7% last year, to an estimated 1 billion. Rising ticket prices helped keep revenues at \$5 billion, the same as the previous year's, but some experts calculate that the profitability of Hollywood's studios plunged by \$150 million. Moreover, runaway costs have begun to turn even some box-office hits into money losers. "I've been watching the industry destroy its profitability for more than a year," says Harold Vogel, who fol-

lows the industry for Merrill Lynch. "The cost cutting, if it really happens, is a welcome move in the direction of sanity."

Many studios are rethinking their approach to stars and scripts. For one, audiences are growing older and may be interested, at least for now, in affecting, down-

to-earth movies with characters who have more than one dimension. Big names are no longer a guarantee of a film's success, a development that prompts studio executives to gripe privately that certain stars are overdue for a deep discount, most notably Robert Redford, Paul Newman, Sean Con-

ernery, Bill Murray, Warren Beatty, Richard Dreyfuss and Nick Nolte. Each commands \$3 million to \$7 million a movie, but they are simply not attracting enough theatergoers to justify those salaries.

Some studios, like Warner, will now avoid "overpackaged" films that are chock-full of stars. Case in point: Warner's *The Bonfire of the Vanities*, the \$35 million fiasco starring Tom Hanks, Bruce Willis and Melanie Griffith. Other studios, notably Universal Pictures, are stressing "back-end" deals, in which such stars as Arnold Schwarzenegger (*Kindergarten Cop*) and Tom Cruise (*Born on the Fourth of July*) receive a cut of ticket sales as opposed to a hefty upfront salary. "If we don't control costs, we won't have much of an industry left," warns Thomas Pollock, head of Universal, whose \$40 million-plus *Havana* died on impact last year despite Redford's starring role. At 20th Century Fox, executives are trying to keep 1991 film budgets below the industry average of \$27 million. "We haven't started telling people to walk to the airport," says Fox president Strauss Zelnick, "but we're trying to produce high-quality entertainment at responsible costs."

Disney was No. 1 in market share last year, but the studio's profits hit a three-year low. Katzenberg's prescription: smaller budgets and fewer films like *Dick Tracy*, last summer's comic-book extravaganza starring Beatty and Madonna that cost an estimated \$100 million to make and market. While the movie has grossed nearly \$200 million in theaters worldwide, Katzenberg complains that it has "static" characters who fail to evolve, and he suspects that it was



Business

not worth the expense or the 10 years of development effort. "Thanks to the dictates of the blockbuster mentality," he writes, "the shelf life of many movies has come to be somewhat shorter than [that of] a supermarket tomato."

Paramount ranked second to Disney in box-office share but was the first to take the budget-pruning pledge after suffering several embarrassing stiffs. *Godfather III*, which cost at least \$55 million, started strong but sagged after several weeks. All told, Paramount has had to lower the estimated asset values of five of the 15 films it released in 1990. Since the summer, Paramount has trimmed its staff, shaken up the studio's production staff and halved the number of films in development (to 125).

For this year, Paramount still plans big-budget films with stars, but the company intends to make more movies (20) without increasing its production budget from last year's \$420 million.

Warner Bros.' earnings hit an estimated record \$370 million in 1990. But the studio's box-office rank slipped from No. 1 in 1989 to No. 3 last year, when Warner had only three modest hits out of 22 released films: *Goodfellas*, *Presumed Innocent* and *Hard to Kill*. This year *The Last Boy Scout* will be the only Warner film to have a budget of more than \$30 million. "We're not giving up working with stars, as long as we can match the right star with the

right material," says Warner chairman Robert Daly. "We want to resist the trap of overpackaging movies."

Some studios aren't bothering to jump on the new cost-cutting bandwagon. Columbia Pictures is now shooting *Hook*, a \$50 million-plus Stephen Spielberg extravaganza starring Dustin Hoffman, Robin Williams and Julia Roberts. The film's top talent will get a lavish 40% of the gross revenues. To earn a nickel for the studio, *Hook* will have to become one of the year's highest-grossing films. But the new management team at Columbia, led by *Batman* producers Jon Peters and Peter Guber, is clearly confident. The company bought two French-made Falcon jets last year, even before the duo made their first movie. ■

"If You're Going to Do a Party, Do It Right!"

Budget? What budget? When mogul Mario Kassar threw a party at the Cannes Film Festival last year, he spent \$200,000 to charter a 203-ft. yacht and used fireworks to light up the sky with the titles and stars of his studio's new films. "It's a competitive market," explains Kassar. "If you're going to do a party, do it right! The whole world was talking about this one."

With his gold jewelry, corporate jet, Beverly Hills compound and walkie-talkie-toting bodyguards, Kassar is the picture of Hollywood happiness. The industry's overpaid stars love him. But the 39-year-old chairman of Carolco Pictures, the father of the lucrative *Rambo* series, is coming under fire from investors for squandering money on his films and himself. And major studio bosses claim that his extravagance is hurting the business. For Sylvester Stallone's role in *Rambo III*, Kassar handed the star \$16 million, more than the entire budget of *First Blood*, the series' opener. The cumbrous Arnold Schwarzenegger raked in \$10 million from Carolco, plus a cut of the film's profits, for his role in last year's hit *Total Recall*. Kassar then bought Schwarzenegger an \$11 million Gulfstream G-III jet for the forthcoming *Terminator II*.

Kassar lavishes cash on behind-the-scenes talent as well. He paid a record \$3 million last June for writer Joe Eszterhas' thriller *Basic Instinct*. "It's not just the money," says Michael Douglas, whom Kassar is reportedly paying more than \$10 million to star in and produce *Instinct*. "When you visit the head of a major studio, it feels like you're going to the principal's office. With Mario, you're with one of the guys." Kassar says his motto is simple: "I try and gain their trust."

Yet Wall Street investors are losing patience with Carolco (estimated 1990 revenues: \$300 million), which comprises a web of subsidiaries and global interconnections that are too perplexing for even stock analysts to follow. The arcane structure is the work of Carolco's president, Peter Hoffman, a brilliant tax attorney. By keeping almost half the company's profits in the Netherlands Antilles, Hoffman holds Carolco's total

tax rate on movie earnings to 22%, vs. the typical 34% corporate tax rate. Even so, Carolco's profits in 1990 stalled at an estimated \$15 million, barely an increase from 1989.

Beirut-born Kassar and his partner Andrew Vajna were successful foreign-film distributors when they launched Carolco in 1976. They hit pay dirt with *Rambo's* debut in 1982 and eventually took the studio public at \$9 a share. In 1989 Vajna sold most of his 36% stake to Kassar in a complex deal involving shell companies in Panama and the Netherlands Antilles. Last October Kassar resold some of his shares to Carolco for

\$13 each, or 60% higher than the market price. That brought him \$11 million, or 80% of the studio's 1989 net income, which prompted angry shareholders to file a class action. In December state-court judge John Zebrowski in Los Angeles froze 2.2 million of Kassar's shares and said the court may force the mogul to disgorge his profits. Kassar claims that he was entitled to the money.

Shareholders also attack Kassar for taking interest-free loans from Carolco to supplement his \$1.25 million salary. In 1988 he and Vajna borrowed \$8 million. The terms: if the stock topped \$11 by

August 1989, the loan would be forgiven. Presto! The stock nipped \$11 in June before tubing again (it now trades at \$8). "The stock was manipulated," charges shareholder lawyer William Lerach. Carolco disputes the allegation.

Carolco's worst problem may be a dwindling public appetite for its stock-in-trade, violent action films. And the studio's failure to reform its free-spending ways has sparked rumors that it may soon be forced into a merger or even bankruptcy. The budget for Carolco's *Terminator II* is reputed to be an eyeball-gouging \$70 million. Since the company presold the lucrative distribution rights, to break even the film will have to be one of the few to gross \$200 million. Shooting began in October, not long after Carolco's Hoffman was quoted as saying the viewing public wants "crap." But Carolco is learning that the investing public does not. —By Richard Behar



Kassar, center, with his eight-figure favorites

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1. If all Americans drove no higher than the posted speed limit, how many gallons of gasoline could be saved per day? What are the average annual savings per household?
a) 1.0 million (\$5.50)
b) 2.0 million (\$11.00)
c) 4.2 million (\$22.50)
2. How does letting your car idle for over a minute compare to restarting your engine?
a) It wastes gas
b) It saves gas c) No difference
3. If all cars drove with properly inflated tires, how many gallons of gasoline would be saved per day? Annual household savings?
a) 1.2 million (\$6.50)
b) 2.2 million (\$12.00)
c) 4.2 million (\$22.50)
4. How much fuel on average can be saved by having a regular tune-up? Annual household savings?
a) 1 mile per 13 gallons (\$4.00)
b) 1 mile per 5 gallons (\$10.50)
c) 1 mile per gallon (\$53.00)

Answers: 1.c 2.a 3.c 4.c

Energy Savings In Your Home

1. Proper insulation of your attic floor can reduce annual energy costs by?
a) Up to \$342.00
b) Less than \$34.20
c) \$3.42
2. Using a flow restrictor on the shower head can reduce the average household's annual energy bill for hot water by?
a) As much as \$27.00
b) As much as \$41.00
c) As much as \$59.00
3. How much can you reduce your annual energy bill by lowering your thermostat from 72° to 68°?
a) Less than \$25.00
b) Around \$50.00
c) Up to \$82.00
4. Lowering your water heater from 160°F to 125°F can cut your average annual fuel bill by?
a) Up to \$15.00
b) Up to \$25.00
c) Up to \$36.00

Answers: 1.a 2.c 3.c 4.c

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Let's Put Our Energy Into Saving It.



Where Do They Go from Here?

Before it's over, the recession is likely to put as many as 2 million people out of work. And benefits are running low.

By JANICE CASTRO

► For her talent in teaching social studies, Cathy Nelson, 37, was named Minnesota's Teacher of the Year last October. But she is not teaching anyone right now, because she lost her job in a budget cutback.

► After 21 years with Quaker Oats, Mike Krause, 50, was running the European operations of the company's Fisher-Price toy subsidiary when Quaker decided to sell the business last spring. Krause, one of 1,300 employees whose jobs were eliminated, has been looking for work ever since.

► Tommy Darnell, 29, was a skilled sheet-metal cutter at General Dynamics until he was laid off last month along with 3,500 other Fort Worth workers. Says he: "I guess I might have to write off 10 years of experience."

Since last August, more than 800,000 Americans, from steelworkers and autoworkers to clerks and bankers, have lost their jobs in the most serious burst of unemployment since the 1982 recession. During January alone, as business braced against the harrowing uncertainties of a recession overlaid with war, 232,000 people lost their jobs. The government reported last week that January's jobless rate rose to 6.2%, up from 6.1% the previous month and 5.3% in June. All told, 7.7 million Americans were unemployed in January. "The job loss last month was immense," says Allen Sinai, chief economist for the Boston Co. Economic Advisors. "The findings really blow out of the sky any notion of a short and shallow recession."

Among the hardest hit workers have been those in manufacturing, where 454,000 jobs have been lost since last August, and construction, which has declined by 362,000. In the auto industry, 19 of the Big Three's 51 U.S. assembly plants are temporarily closed. Altogether, 65,000 auto jobs have disappeared. Almost the only part of the economy to escape the pain of the recession is the health-care industry. During the past year nearly 600,000 health-care jobs have been created, bringing total industry employment to 8.4 million.

If there is any good news, it is that the harshest phase of the layoffs may be over. Com-



Mike Krause between job interviews in Manhattan

panies have reacted to this downturn more swiftly than usual with deep pre-emptive cuts. Still, economists expect that as many as 1 million more Americans may lose their jobs before the recession's effects fade next fall—and that forecast assumes that the war ends within a few months. The Commerce Department reported a seeming indicator of strength in the economy last week, announcing that orders for durable goods climbed 4.4% during December. But only limited segments of the economy benefited, since considerably more than half the increase was attributable to orders for military goods.

Even if the recession is relatively brief, many workers will be hard pressed to find jobs anytime soon. Well before the U.S. slipped into recession last fall, business was downshifting in the wake of the Reagan expansion. Corporations were eliminating slices of middle management and the layers of clerical and professional staff supporting them. Says Roland Stichweh, a

senior partner at the Towers, Perrin, Forster & Crosby benefits-consulting firm: "Organizations under stress are finding that they must abandon their traditional sense of loyalty to these employees."

At the same time, companies have been replacing many of the stars who led them during the boom years with more conservative managers. Says Paul Ray Jr., an executive recruiter: "Instead of doing deals, now the emphasis is on cost control." On Wall Street during the past two years, more than 60,000 jobs have been lost as merger mania ended and the bull market stalled. Largely as a result, big accounting and law firms that served the merger makers have slashed their partnership rolls. Last month the accounting firm Peat Marwick abruptly dismissed

300 of its 1,875 partners, protecting profits by chopping highly compensated senior talent.

While losing a job is always a wrenching experience, most senior managers can count on reasonable severance as well as personal savings to cushion the blow. But for legions of workers whose prospects of finding a place in a shrinking job market are bleak, the money is fast running out. More than 2.2 million people used up all six months' worth of unemployment benefits last year, a 16% increase from a year earlier. Worse still, a study released in December by Mathematica Policy Research, a consulting firm, found that 60% of unemployed workers were in the desperate position of still being jobless 10 weeks after their benefits expired.

In several past recessions, Congress and the states responded to widespread joblessness by allocating extra money to unemployment trusts so they could extend

worker benefits for a few additional months. But during the past few years the Federal Government and the states have tightened eligibility for such benefits. Only Alaska and Rhode Island are currently expanding the assistance. And with everything from the gulf war to the savings and loan bailout competing for scarce federal funds, Congress is not eager to press such a move. For the moment, once they exhaust the standard benefits period, the jobless are on their own. —Reported by Gisela Bolto/Washington and Deborah Fowler/Houston

OUT OF A JOB

Industry (nongovernment)	Total employment Aug. 1990	Net number of jobs lost Aug.-Jan. 1991
<i>Seasonally adjusted</i>		<i>Seasonally adjusted</i>
TOTAL U.S.	92,320,000	793,000
Construction	5,194,000	362,000
Manufacturing	19,084,000	454,000
Autos	814,000	65,000
Electronics	1,689,000	47,000
Real estate	1,352,000	13,000
Retailing	19,846,000	78,000

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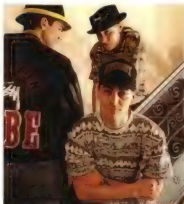
STYLE

Where Surf Meets Rap

In the hip-hop scene, where designer names often grow to billboard proportions, the tag of the moment is Stüssy. Designer Shawn Stüssy, 36, of Laguna

Beach, Calif., has made a splash with surf-meets-rap sportswear. Stüssy and partner Frank Sinatra Jr. (no relation to you-know-who) say revenues hit \$17 million last year in stores from Los Angeles to Manhattan. Stüssy, a former surfboard maker, started his business in 1982 by transferring surfboard graphics to T-shirts and shorts.

Stüssy's twist can mean embroidered Masai warrior shields in neon colors on a high school letter jacket or baggy jerseys bearing electric-haired African-warrior logos. Stüssy has caught on big with musicians ranging from Public Enemy to Madonna. Next he hopes to get a bit more formal. Says his partner: "Shawn has always wanted to be like Armani."



Totally fresh: sportswear from Stüssy

THE ECONOMY

O.K., O.K., We Give In!

Less than an hour after the government reported the January rise in unemployment last Friday, interest rates began to fall. First the Federal Reserve Board chopped the discount rate it charges to member banks by half a percentage point, to 6%. Voilà! Major commercial banks took the cue immediately, slashing the prime lending rate half a point, to 9%. As a result, consumers can expect to pay a little less for car loans, mortgages and other bank credit, which could help boost the economy out of the recession.

Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan had taken considerable heat earlier in the week for the board's reluctance to ease credit. President Bush turned it up to boil during his State of the Union address last Tuesday



Under fire, Greenspan eased up

with the demand "Interest rates must come down now." Departing Fed member Martha Seger criticized the board for failing to ease credit earlier, which she believes might have prevented the recession. Seger contended that the Fed is staffed by academics with little business experience and even less sense of the effects of their decisions. The Fed's decisive move last week should dampen the criticism, at least for now.

TAXES

The Ballad of Willie's Woes

If Willie Nelson is on the road again, it may be because he has no place else to go. Last week the Internal Revenue Service auctioned off two of the country singer's homes, taken as partial payment of back taxes and pen-

alties. The agency sold Nelson's Evergreen, Colo., retreat for \$650,000, and his ranch in Dripping Springs, Texas, went to Nelson supporter John Arens for \$203,000. The IRS claims that Nelson owes the government a total of \$16.7 million for failing to file tax returns from 1975 to 1977 and for taking invalid deductions. The singer is suing the firm Price Waterhouse for \$6.5



Ranch buyer Arens with Nelson

million, accusing the accountants of providing him with bad investment advice on tax breaks. (The firm denies the charge.) But Nelson's style has not been cramped by financial problems. Last week he said he will embark on a new satellite-TV venture called the Outlaw Music Channel. He also plans to put out a new album. His suggested title: *The IRS Tapes*.

TOYS

G.I. Joe Lands On Boardwalk

When toy-truck maker Tonka bought Kenner Parker Toys in 1987, the company added such venerable products as Monopoly and Play-Doh to its lineup. But Tonka, the third largest U.S. toymaker, also took on a staggering debt from the \$674 million sale. The Minnesota-based company's burdens grew worse with the recession, which coincided with a dearth of successful new Tonka products. Last week the toymaker decided to seek help from the big kid on the block. Hasbro (1990 sales: more than \$1 billion), the

largest U.S. toymaker, will acquire Tonka's stock and debt in a deal worth about \$500 million. Hasbro, which makes G.I. Joe, Cabbage Patch dolls and Playskool toys, earned \$61 million in the first three quarters of 1990, while Tonka lost \$25 million in the same period.



Two classics ready to roll

BANKING

Is It Broke Yet?

With banks failing at the rate of one every two days, will the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation's bailout fund run out of money soon? That fear was magnified last week when the Congressional Budget Office predicted that the fund, which contains only \$8.5 billion to cover \$2 trillion in deposits, could run dry by the end of the year because the recession has aggravated the cost of bank failures. The FDIC may need to borrow \$11 billion from the Treasury to keep from going broke, the CBO predicted. The

House Budget Committee further undermined confidence in the FDIC by criticizing its 1988 rescue of First Republic Bank of Dallas, charging that "preposterous tax breaks" could double the original cost estimates of more than \$2 billion.

FDIC Chairman L. William Seidman disputed the CBO's bleak prediction, contending that the insurance fund would remain "solvent but weak." Seidman said the banking industry could bolster the fund without help from taxpayers. But Seidman did acknowledge that if the recession lasts for more than a year, the fund will run dry by the end of 1991 and run a deficit of more than \$5 billion in 1992.



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On the Mistakes Of War

ROBERT MCNAMARA, architect of the Vietnam War, talks about the Persian Gulf conflict—and, for the first time, about the one he can't forget

By **CARL BERNSTEIN** WASHINGTON

Q. Is the war in the gulf moving out of control?

A. No military operation can be totally under control, especially one with high-tech weapons. That's the lesson of the Cuban missile crisis and Vietnam. Is this situation under control? The answer is "Yes, but." Bush and Powell and Cheney are doing a superb job, but I tell you Jesus Christ himself can't keep one of these things under control.

Q. How did events get out of control in Vietnam?

A. It's not just events moving out of control. It's a slightly different expression of somewhat the same thing, which is that because of misinformation and misperceptions, there are misjudgments as to where a nation's interests lie and what can be accomplished. Take the missile crisis, for example. In what was a very simple situation, short in time—two weeks—simple in relations among states, much simpler than the gulf or much simpler than Vietnam—you cannot imagine the extent of misjudgment, misinformation. Events were really out of the control of either party, though both the Russians and we were trying to maintain control.

I suspect that when we really get down to formulating this new world order and the basics for implementing collective security, we will have to lay down the proposition that while military action may be ultimately required to respond to aggression, we—the world—will carry out an extended period of sanctions, and we won't expect them to accomplish in five months what probably would take 12 or 18 months.

Q. You testified before Congress that military action against Iraq would be fraught with danger for the U.S. Why?

A. What I said in my testimony seems to be occurring now. Namely that I did not believe there was more than a 1-in-10 chance this war could be ended through quick surgical air strikes with minimal casualties. I thought it would have to be accompanied by substantial ground action that would lead to substantial casualties—with the likely result that there would be serious instability in the political relationships among nations in the region. I'd say there is a fifty-

fifty chance now of American troops' fighting on the ground in Iraq.

Q. You've never spoken publicly about your experience in Vietnam. Why?

A. I've never even talked to my children or my closest friends about it.

Q. Did you ever imagine anything like the large number of casualties that the U.S. experienced in Vietnam?

A. Certainly at the beginning there was no anticipation of that. That is correct.

Q. When did it become apparent? Does it relate to the gulf?

A. The situations are not analogous, except in one sense: the consequences of military action are unpredictable. I learned this as Secretary time after time after time: we did certain things we thought would lead to certain results, and the results were different. The Soviets have learned the same thing. Nobody predicted at any particular point in the 1960s the evolution of events in Vietnam. And I think what Powell and Schwarzkopf and the Marine generals have said here, and said very responsibly, is "We can predict the outcome but not the blood costs, particularly; we know we can win, but we can't predict how long it will take; and we cannot predict the political relationships in the area after military action." There may be a power vacuum, there may be Arab against Arab, Arab against the U.S. Who knows?

Q. What does the end of the cold war allow us to do?

A. We have a tremendous opportunity now to develop a vision that is free of the psychological constraints we have operated under for most of my adult life because of the threat of communist aggression. We can stand back and look at ourselves, look at our society. And, my God, we need it! If you look at what's happening in the country you could cry. It's the children. It's just awful what's going on. And something can be done. To say we don't have the resources is nonsense.

There were real threats in the cold war, risks that some governments in Western Europe would be subverted or otherwise end up controlled by the communists. Later we confronted very serious pressures against Berlin and other parts of the world. But I suspect we exaggerated, greatly exaggerated, the strength that lay behind those threats, and therefore I think we probably misused our resources and directed excessive resources toward responding to those threats at considerable cost to our domestic societies.

Q. Are we doing the same thing in the gulf today?

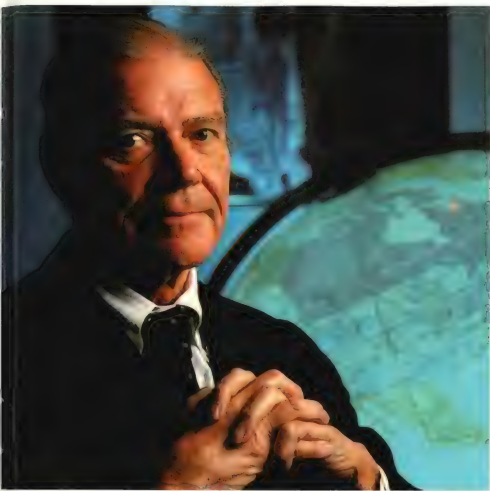
A. No question about it. The cold war occupied not just the efforts of our best minds, but caused our leaders to focus on the Noriegas or the *contras* or some of these other issues, as opposed to more fundamental problems.

Q. I would add the Ho Chi Minh. Is that fair?

A. And the Ho Chi Minh. I agree.

Q. Where else did we exaggerate the threat?

A. To begin with, the nuclear threat. And I'm not just talking about the missile gap. We could have maintained deterrence with a fraction of the number of warheads we built. The cost is tremendous—not just of warheads. It's research, and it's building all the goddam bombers and missiles. Over the past



"Bush and Powell and Cheney are doing a superb job, but I tell you Jesus Christ himself can't keep one of these things under control."

20 years the unnecessary costs are in the tens of billions. Insane. It was not necessary. And moreover, our actions stimulated the Russians ultimately.

Q. You spent an hour and a half with Gorbachev a few weeks ago. How did he seem to you?

A. You could see he's going through hell. Our objectives there and Gorbachev's objectives aren't that different. He doesn't want disorder. He sure as hell doesn't want to use military force there. I'm not arguing that military force may not be used; I'm arguing that he doesn't want to use it. What I am fairly confident of is that whatever happens in the Soviet Union, there is not going to be reconstitution of the threat that we felt we faced for 45 years.

Q. What were your worst moments as Secretary of Defense?

A. The Cuban missile crisis was very, very bad. There was a moment on Saturday night, Oct. 27, '62—it sounds melodramatic and I don't mean to be—when, as I left the President's office to go back to the Pentagon—a perfectly beautiful fall evening—I thought I might never live to see another Saturday night.

Q. Vietnam?

A. Well, in Vietnam there were a lot of important worst moments and less important worst moments. Psychologically,

you're dealing with a problem for which there was no satisfactory answer, an answer that in part you're responsible for. And that is a terrible situation to be in. That kind of worst moment went on for a long time—months, if not years.

Q. And the parents of kids killed?

A. That is a very, very burdensome problem.

Q. Why did you order the Pentagon papers prepared?

A. I felt we were not going to achieve our objectives—politically and militarily—and it was going to be essential at some point for scholars to determine how the policy had been formed, why the decisions had been made as they were, what the alternative decisions might have been, and what might have happened had the alternative decisions been pursued.

I think you will find that my memos to the President about that time—1966—said, "There is no good choice open to us." With hindsight, I think some of us misjudged Chinese objectives with respect to the extension of Chinese power. We thought there was considerable evidence China intended to extend its hegemony across Southeast Asia and perhaps beyond, but I'm not at all sure now that was their intent.

Q. Did Lyndon Johnson feel that you'd misled him, that you had led him to believe the war could be won?

Interview

A. No. No. No. No. He never felt that. I know that. To this day I don't know if I quit or I was fired as Secretary of Defense. The reason is that Johnson and I had an extremely close and complex relationship. Toward the end there was tremendous tension between us over Vietnam. But I loved him and he loved me.

But he expressed the frustration. He'd say, "Why in the hell, McNamara, are you being so goddam difficult?" It was that kind of feeling. All the way through to the end.

You know, he had dreams for the country. The war had broken his dreams. But I think history will record that that man contributed immensely to this nation. In a sense, Johnson's objectives in the civil rights bill and Vietnam were the same. He was passionate in a way about human liberty and freedoms and believed he was advancing their cause in both instances. In hindsight it looks absurd to say that, perhaps. But without that civil rights bill—if he did nothing other than that, and he did a lot other than that—where would we be?

Q. And McNamara. What were his dreams at the time, his passions?

A. I accepted Kennedy's invitation to come down, and I accepted Johnson's invitation to stay because I believed in this country.

I grew up in the Depression, and I went to the University of California, which was a very, very liberal school. Berkeley, and I was there 1933 to '37, and it's hard for people to believe this today, but 25% of the adult males in the country were unemployed at the time. Parents of my classmates were committing suicide because they couldn't provide food for their families. Now I grew up in that environment, of a very liberal university, a very liberal environment, and I absorbed the values and the social objectives of many of my classmates and professors and others at the time, and I've held them ever since. It's something to feel passionate about, and I do.

Q. At the time you left government, the U.S. was in the midst of one of the greatest bombing campaigns in the history of warfare, and today the U.S. has launched one even greater. You thought the bombing would work at the time?

A. No, I didn't think it would work at the time.

Q. Why undertake it then?

A. Because we had to try to prove it wouldn't work, number one, and other people thought it would work.

Q. What other people?

A. A majority of the senior military commanders, the Senate Armed Services Committee, the President.

Q. Were you opposed to it from the beginning?

A. It wasn't that I was opposed to it; I didn't think it would work from the beginning.

Q. During Vietnam, did you become inured to the protests—"McNamara's War."

A. Well, it was difficult. But among other things, there's a constructive aspect of it. It causes you to continu-

ally reexamine your decisions and what you're doing.

Q. Does it also make you defensive?

A. Sure it does.

Q. And play with the facts?

A. No, not play with the facts. I don't think I ever played with the facts. You know, one point, I wasn't an indentured servant, I wasn't a bonded servant. I could leave. And I didn't. So it was a personal decision.

Q. Who is McNamara? The real McNamara. Who is McNamara emotionally?

A. Very few people know.

Q. Who knows?

A. Well, Marg knew, my wife knew.

Q. Who else? Johnson?

A. No, I don't think so. No, people don't know. People don't know.

Q. Your kids?

A. People don't know, and probably not my kids. And let me tell you that's a weakness. If you're not known emotionally to people, it means you haven't really communicated fully to people. I know it's a weakness of mine. But I'm not about to change now.

Q. What did the war do to Bob McNamara's dreams? Seriously.

A. No, I'm not getting involved in that. I really don't think Vietnam is going to shape this nation's role in the future, or constrain this nation from its developing or contributing to the new world order. Vietnam has been very constraining; there's no question about that. But I

think you will find that partially because of the gulf, partially because of the Soviet action that has ended the cold war, we will be less constrained by Vietnam in the future.

I know that might sound like I'm insensitive to Vietnam, and I'm not at all. Coming from me, people would jump all over—"That son of a bitch; he's got blood on his hands."

Q. Do you feel you have blood on your hands?

A. You know, my wife died, 10 years ago, and she was a very sensitive person. In part I think she died because of this, or at least her deep trauma associated with it. I don't mean to say she thought I had blood on my hands. But she felt the trauma that our nation was in. And she was with me on occasions when people said I had blood on my hands. And it was a terrible situation—

But back to the point; I think our nation to some degree has been liberated from this terrible trauma of Vietnam.

Q. And McNamara? Liberated? Ultimately, is it pain and difficult experience that shape us?

A. You grow.

Q. And it hurts?

A. You grow, you grow. If you survive, you grow. ■

"I think our nation to some degree has been liberated from this terrible trauma of Vietnam."

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Education

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High schools are starting to offer warranties on their graduates

For years U.S. business has grumbled about the quality of the nation's high school graduates. They can't make correct change. They can't write a business letter. They have no sense of the work ethic. They also cost a lot of extra money: American firms spend \$250 million annually just to teach workers the three Rs. "Because of the failure of our education system to produce graduates who can work at world-class levels, we have a national economic problem on our hands," says William Kolberg, president of the National Alliance of Business, a Washington-based education and policy group.

Now some U.S. school districts are trying a businesslike solution: warranties. For periods of one to three years, 68 schools in Prince George's County, Md.; Plymouth-Carver, Mass.; St. Joseph, Mo.; Montrose County, Colo.; Harlem, Ill.; and dozens of other districts guarantee defect-free graduates to prospective employers. These small districts may soon be joined by the nation's largest, New York City, where schools chancellor Joseph Fernandez has proposed a pilot program starting as early as this fall.

Education warranties work much like those for VCRs and refrigerators. If an employer finds that a recent graduate is unable to read, write or calculate proficiently, the school system will offer free remedial instruction, usually in adult- or evening-



New York's Fernandez wants to stand by his pupils

education classes. Most credentials, which vary from Prince George's wallet-size Guaranteed Employability Certificate to Plymouth-Carver's diploma-size guarantee, apply only to locally employed students. But at least one district—Montrose County, Colo.—plans eventually to vouch for its graduates statewide.

Warranties are partially a public relations effort aimed at changing business's jaundiced view of education. "Employers see it as a positive indication that a public agency is willing to be held accountable,"

says Bernard Sidman, superintendent of the Plymouth-Carver school district, where high school graduates last year began receiving three-year warranties along with their diplomas. But there are benefits for schools too. Teachers, for example, like the idea as a show of confidence in their abilities. The hope is that students will feel the same. At Plymouth-Carver, average Scholastic Aptitude Test scores have shot up 30 points in reading and 15 points in math since warranties were unveiled.

So far, businesses give the programs high marks. "Graduates with the warranty card come in with a work ethic," says Susan Levering, director of human services at Branch Electric Supply Co. in Upper Marlboro, Md., which has five full-time employees with Prince George's County's Guaranteed Employability Certificate. "They are willing to learn."

There are, however, nagging concerns. Skeptics are worried that the cost of re-educating hundreds of subpar graduates will burden weary teachers, not to mention the taxpayers who foot the bill for retraining. But to date, extra expenses have been minimal. Montrose County, Colo., has had 3 of 600 graduating students "returned" since it started issuing warranties in 1988. Other districts have had none.

The popularity of warranties thus far makes it likely that they will spread into larger districts. Many educators hail that as the precursor to a more sweeping idea: graduation standards based on proven mastery of skills, rather than on course completion.

—By Susan Titt, Reported by Michele Donley/
Chicago and Rabi Kamari/New York

Milestones

DIED. John Bardeen, 82, physicist and electrical engineer, a co-inventor of the transistor and two-time Nobel prizewinner; in Boston. Bardeen shared his first Nobel in 1956 with William Shockley and Walter Brattain for the invention of the transistor, a tiny device that replaced the ungainly vacuum tube and heralded the revolution in modern, miniaturized electronics. Sixteen years later, Bardeen and two others won the Nobel for their theory of low-temperature superconductivity, in which electricity travels through matter with little or no resistance.

DIED. John Graham, 82, innovative architect who helped design Seattle's spectacular 600-ft. Space Needle; in Seattle. The Yale-trained Graham was a pioneer in the development of shopping malls as well as office

buildings. The dining rooms in the crown of the Space Needle make a complete revolution every hour.

DIED. John McIntire, 83, longtime actor and radio announcer; in Pasadena, Calif. Though he was well known for his role as the wagon master in the TV series *Wagon Train*, from 1961 to 1965, as well as for his acting assignments in such films as *Psycho* and *Rooster Cogburn*, McIntire made a name—or, rather, a sound—for himself as a booming, authoritative performer on *The March of Time*, early radio's best-known news-documentary series.

DIED. Harold ("Red") Grange, 87, artful, wing-footed running back (the "Galloping Ghost"), whose heroic exploits gave professional football its first and decisive re-

spectability; in Lake Wales, Fla. Grange's fame took flight in 1924 when his University of Illinois team beat undefeated Michigan 39-14. In the first 12 minutes of the game, he took the opening kickoff 95 yds. for a touchdown and ran for three more; later he scored another touchdown, and still later threw a pass for a sixth. In the 1920s and '30s, Grange had a similarly astonishing pro career with the Chicago Bears, and also tried his hand variously as an assistant coach, sports broadcaster and movie actor (*The Galloping Ghost*), before settling down in Florida as a businessman.





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Lost in America

For Vietnam vets hunkered down in the jungles of Hawaii, the war never came to an end

By PAULA A. WITTEMAN CAPTAIN COOK

Outside, the rain is beating a relentless riff that is familiar to anyone who has lived through a monsoon in Southeast Asia. Inside the Army-issue tent in a clearing at the jungle's edge, Nash A. Miller, a onetime helicopter door gunner and crew chief, is changing into a dry pair of camouflage fatigues. As his two watchdogs prowl silently, Miller, nicknamed "Nam" (his initials), recounts his tale with a small, innocent smile. It begins at a firebase in the badlands west of Kontum, near the Vietnam-Cambodia border, in the summer of 1970.

As Miller's gunship, a ponderous Huey "hog," was taking on a fresh load of rockets and grenades, a Soviet-made 122-mm shell exploded several yards away in a lethal burst of metal. Fragments shredded his pants, embedding themselves in his legs. One shard burned its way into his throat. After the field surgeon in Pleiku extracted a chunk close to his jugular vein, an opening the size of a quarter remained in his neck. "I was fascinated by the hole," he says, rubbing the scar. "When I looked in the mirror, I could see my Adam's apple."

Two decades later, Miller is still on intimate terms with the war. "For years, I've slept with my left hand on my Bible and my right hand on my .45," he says. But the particular piece of tropical rain forest that Miller inhabits is a long way from the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Miller's base camp hunkers down on some hardscrabble red dirt several miles outside the village of Pahoa on the Big Island of Hawaii. In touch and smell, as well as sight, it is the closest to Vietnam that one can get within the U.S. "I will never live anywhere else," Miller declares. "The jungle is my home."

Today, as Americans once again hear reports of U.S. soldiers taken prisoner of war or missing in action, many are reminded that not everyone lost in the last big conflict has been accounted for. The government of Vietnam last month continued to



Far from the Ho Chi Minh Trail: 20 years after Vietnam, Nash A. Miller still lives in an Army tent and sleeps "with my left hand on my Bible and my right hand on my .45."

return the remains of U.S. fightingmen who lost their lives there. Lobbyists go on pressing for the location of other MIAs (surprisingly, many Americans still believe there are U.S. soldiers being held captive somewhere in the jungles of Indochina). Much less attention has focused on another group of "lost" warriors: those combat veterans who, like Miller, disappeared into the jungle after they got home.

Most of the "bush vets," as they've come to be known, prefer it that way, having chosen to shun virtually all human contact. Many returned home only fleetingly before retreating into tropical solitude. "My family thinks I'm an MIA in the U.S.A.," says Glenn Hayne, 44, who made it back to Oakland in February 1968, after a tour full of fire fights and body bags with the Tenth Cavalry, only to drift to Mexico and then Hawaii. He supported himself by growing the powerful local variety of marijuana known as pakalolo but, after a recent crackdown by drug agents, has switched to fishing. Patrick Barnett (not his real name), on the other hand, who is originally from Honolulu, lived for years under trees and bushes in the Waipio Valley, subsisting primarily on breadfruit, mangoes and bananas. "My first 14 years on this island were spent in hiding," says Barnett, who is stooped, almost toothless

and looks decades older than his 41 years.

By some estimates, there are several hundred Vietnam veterans living on the mountainous and sparsely settled Big Island, as well as clusters in such diverse places as the Pacific Northwest and the backwoods of Maine. An accurate count is tough to come by. "You don't have to move very far upslope to get out of sight," says Stephen Staten, a psychiatrist who began counseling bush vets at a Veterans Administration clinic in Kona 16 months ago. No one is looking too closely either, since some of the bush vets are armed, unpredictable and have set booby traps around their camps. "There are veterans in the bush who are beyond help," says Michael Cowan, who in 1987 helped found V.F.W. Post 3874 in Kona. "I hate to say this, but the authorities need to go in, drop nets over them, confiscate their weapons and put them in straitjackets."

Cowan, a Silver- and multiple Bronze-Star winner who guided artillery and air strikes in Vietnam, ought to know. He self-destructed when he went home to Oklahoma. His marriage failed, he was dismissed from the Army, and he spent four years in a mental hospital after being arrested for his role in a shooting incident. In 1983 he hit the beach in Hawaii, a burned out case who washed windows for beers and scrounged



Battling the Veterans Administration: Adrian Yurong, 45, known as Nano, lives with his dog, Moose, on the Big Island. Nano has severe post-traumatic stress disorder but is denied benefits.

in dumpsters for food. In 1985, 12 years after his last combat action, Cowan was given a medical explanation for his troubles: post-traumatic stress disorder.

PTSD is the modern term for what used to be called battle fatigue or shell shock. A congressional study in 1988 found that about 479,000 of the nation's 3.5 million or so Vietnam vets are afflicted with serious cases; an additional 350,000 display more moderate symptoms. PTSD is a state of extreme arousal caused by the virtual non-stop release of adrenaline and other similar substances into the bloodstream.

When cars backfire, PTSD patients generally hit the dirt. The sound of helicopter rotor blades causes some to conceal themselves in trees. A baby's cry can invoke instant rage. Put in nonclinical terms, says psychiatrist Staten, the symptoms of PTSD are "like experiencing one's most threatening nightmares." A recent medical study found that the adrenaline levels of PTSD sufferers remain higher during hospital treatment than those of manic-depressives and paranoid schizophrenics.



VA psychiatrist Staten

In Vietnam, PTSD was often caused by the prolonged stress of trying to survive an ambush or a fire fight. Bill Ralph developed his case riding shotgun on fuel trucks engaged in night resupply missions. For seven of the 18 years he has lived in Hawaii, Ralph occupied an 8-ft. by 12-ft. hill-top shack. If a stranger approached, Ralph would slip into the jungle, his knife at the ready. "I didn't even know I was sick," he says. "I just thought I was a little different."

At the Kona clinic, Staten has been working to coax Ralph and a handful of others out of desperate isolation. Some of the men have formed a self-help group. At meetings of the new Hawaii Veterans Association, in the town of Captain Cook, they begin to make peace with the demons that haunt them, by discovering that others are haunted as well.

They also nurture communal outrage at the bureaucracy of the Veterans Administration, their latter-day Viet Cong, for making benefits difficult to obtain. Adrian Yurong, 45, who served about a year and a half with the 25th Infantry Division near the Viet Cong stronghold of Cu

Chi, has been denied benefits because his job description shows he was a radar operator. Yurong, now known simply as Nano, was pressed into service, he says, as an infantryman throughout his tour. The VA grants that he has PTSD but says he must have contracted it elsewhere. Such arguments enrage V.F.W. activist Cowan. "When you first go to the VA, you are denied benefits. Fifty percent of the vets don't go back. The second time you are denied, you lose another 25%," he says. "You must be willing to put up with total bullshit to get help," says Cowan, who fears that his own disability payments may be threatened by his activism.

Samuel A. Tiano, director of the regional VA office in Honolulu until a recent transfer, says dismissively of the bush vets, "Some of these people would live this way if they had not been to Vietnam. We have some who are denying wanting this and wanting that." But such service requests, says Tiano's boss, Edward Derwinski, the Secretary of Veterans' Affairs, are exactly what the veterans should be making. Says he: "The customer is always right." Derwinski, whose department has been embarrassed by recent reports of negligence at VA hospitals, concedes that his bureaucracy has not always acted compassionately. "We have had a communications gap with Vietnam veterans. It is not a perfect situation."

Staten is trying to rectify that. In the process of helping the bush vets, he has learned that theirs is a well-traveled path. When Roman Legionnaires returned from war, they were encouraged to settle in rural areas where they could decompress quietly. Japanese literature tells of samurai retiring to tend the "perfect garden." For many of these men, the island of Hawaii is that perfect garden, or as Staten calls it, the "gentle jungle." Says Cowan: "It is like a sanctuary. I trust my emotions and feelings here."

Some bush vets have been drawn to the jungle, subconsciously seeking what therapists call "belated mastery." They want control over an environment that once terrified them. Says former Green Beret Lee Burkins, who has lived in Hawaii for 11 years: "I didn't plan to go back to the jungle to taste my fears. I wanted to achieve inner peace. But I kept looking for a foot, a pair of eyes or a gun muzzle. I had to tell myself not to worry about that anymore."

Not surprisingly, these veterans have strong feelings about the potential human consequences of America's latest war. After decades of suffering, they have a message for the future veterans of Operation Desert Storm. "There are occupational hazards in fighting a war," says Burkins. "They are costly." Cowan adds a sobering caveat: "If a nation is going to suit up its young men and send them to war, it should be prepared to take care of them afterward." In the case of Hawaii's bush vets, that care has been long overdue. ■

How Dailies Cover a TV War

After a slow start, newspapers play catch-up with fresh angles, skeptical analysis and a blizzard of lively graphics

By RICHARD ZOGLIN



Covering the gulf war is a tough assignment for any journalist, but consider the poor newspaper reporter. Hamstrung by pool restrictions in the

field, overshadowed by glamorous TV correspondents, dependent for much of their information on CNN, daily scribes can be excused for feeling a bit underutilized. "A friend took a picture of me the other day taking notes in front of a television set," says Kim Murphy, who is reporting from Saudi Arabia for the *Los Angeles Times*. "That's what being a war correspondent has come to."

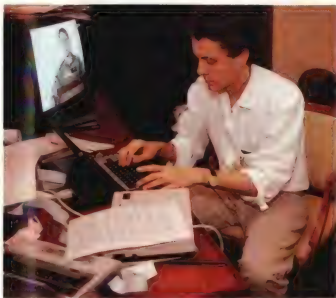
Editors back home are grappling with the same kind of problem. In a story so thoroughly dominated by television, the daily press has been the forgotten news medium. Print journalists, of course, have long recognized that TV has changed the rules of their game. But the gulf war is raising anew tough questions about the newspaper's role in a world where television has become the instantaneous and nearly universal source of breaking news.

Like the TV networks, newspapers jumped into the gulf story with all guns blazing: banner headlines, pages of coverage, reams of special features. And like the networks, they have attracted a bigger audience. The *San Francisco Examiner*, one of the nation's few remaining afternoon dailies, has seen its street sales increase 25% since the start of the war. Big-city dailies like the *Washington Post* (circ. 781,000) and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (circ. 520,000) have sold 10,000 to 20,000 extra copies a day. "Obviously, our readers see things first and very dramatically on TV," says *Post* managing editor Leonard Downie. "But the information is fragmentary and sometimes contradictory. We think our readers have an appetite the next morning for having it sorted out."

During the first few days of TV's saturation coverage, newspapers seemed to

provide little more than a reiteration of stale news. But the print press has since been playing aggressive catch-up. Last week's most eye-catching scoop came from Bob Woodward, of Watergate fame, who reported in the *Washington Post* that despite the allied air successes, confidential Pentagon assessments revealed that "important parts of Saddam Hussein's war machine have not yet been significantly hurt."

Newspapers with strong international



Searching for a role: New York Times reporter Philip Shenon at work in Dhahran

coverage, like the *New York Times* and the *Christian Science Monitor*, have weighed in with stories from around the globe that TV has missed, like a report in the *Monitor* last week asserting that China had tried to circumvent the embargo against arms shipments to Iraq. Even papers that usually pay little attention to foreign coverage have sent reporters to the gulf region, and several have uncovered fresh news. The *San Francisco Chronicle's* Carl Nolte, for example, reported last week that some troops at the front are short of key pieces of equipment and basic items like soap. The *Los Angeles Times*, which has been offering the most extensive and informative daily coverage of the war, has published a steady stream of enterprising features on such topics as the history of Dhahran and the effort by military lawyers to make sure allied troops obey the rules of war.

To attract an audience conditioned by TV, moreover, newspapers are spicing up their coverage with additional charts, maps, boxes and other visual devices. "This is an editor's story so far," says George Harmon, associate professor of journalism at Northwestern University. "Newspapers have to make sense out of a mountain of information. Packaging is important." The *Los Angeles Times* is running information boxes atop each page of its daily gulf coverage, containing everything from thumbnail sketches of U.S. battleships to marginalia like the origin of the term "mother of battles" (it comes from an Arabic phrase meaning ultimate battle). The *Chicago Tribune* ran a full-page, full-color "Young Reader's Guide to the Gulf War." Statistical round-ups, "War at a Glance" boxes and Middle Eastern weather maps abound.

The stress on visual packaging and short bursts of information marks another step along the TV-influenced trail blazed by *USA Today*. But newspapers have also offered thoughtful analysis of the war, often more skeptical than TV's. The *New York Times* put a notably downbeat spin on General Norman Schwarzkopf's upbeat briefing on the air campaign last Wednesday: "Although [Schwarzkopf] presented a picture of a devastatingly effective allied air war against Iraq," the front-page analysis began, "the kind of destruction he described is a slow process and the extent of its success in incapacitating Iraqi ground forces may not be known for weeks." The dailies have

also paid more attention to the antiwar viewpoint than TV has, both in their news pages and in commentary by such dissenting columnists as *Newsday's* Jimmy Breslin.

Media analysts doubt that the war-inspired boost in circulation will reverse the long-term slide in newspaper readership. But print journalists insist that the war is showing what dailies do best. Thomas Winship, former editor of the *Boston Globe* and now president of the Center for Foreign Journalists, contends, "The newspaper top-to-bottom wrap-up, which was the staple of World War II, has come back into its own. So much is incomplete on TV, newspapers are a godsend to the public." Whether the public fully agrees is far from certain, but despite TV's air superiority in the gulf, newspapers clearly are not ready to concede the field just yet.

—Reported by William Dowell/Dhahran and Leslie Whitaker/New York, with other bureaus

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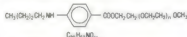


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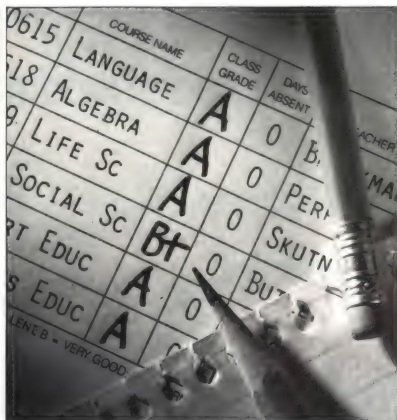
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Cinema



What a man can do to a woman: Bergin and Roberts

New Thrills for Pretty Woman

SLEEPING WITH THE ENEMY

Directed by Joseph Ruben; Screenplay by Ronald Bass

Julia Roberts, what has she got? A nice face, modest acting ability, an imposing résumé and plenty of media coverage. But, mostly, she's got big hits. In the popular *Steel Magnolias* she parlayed a deathbed scene into an Oscar nomination. She was the Cinderella slattern in *Pretty Woman*, a worldwide smash that has earned more than \$400 million. Even the brain-dead drama *Flatliners*, in which she had an unrequited role, grossed \$60 million Stateside—a testament to her drawing power.

Why, then, does one suspect that Roberts has been more lucky than smart? Because there is an emptiness at the core of her charm. You will look in vain for, say, the weary beauty of Michelle Pfeiffer, the elfin intensity of Winona Ryder, the resilient wit of Jodie Foster, the cunning sensuality of Annette Bening. Most of all, Roberts lacks mystery. She does not seduce the viewer into wanting to know more about her characters or herself. She is not the engine of movie hits, only their ornament.

She will be tested with the release of *Sleeping with the Enemy*, a subterranean thriller with the requisite tangles and cheats expected of a woman-in-jeopardy melodrama. Here Roberts is Laura Burney, abused wife. Her husband Martin (Patrick Bergin) oozes empathy and flares into brutality. If she does anything wrong, or nothing wrong, he will beat her into zombie silence. So Laura fakes her own death and flees to small-town safety in the care of a solicitous drama teacher (Kevin Anderson). But Martin is as tenacious as he is possessive. The Beast will find Beauty. And Laura will again be in mortal dread, as she must,

of the things a man can do to a woman.

In Nancy Price's novel, Martin was as fully formed a predator as Laura was a prey. And at the climax, she finally got to be in control of their marriage. But this movie is interested neither in getting under a psychopath's scalp nor in making Laura a feminist hero. At its end she is still the harassed girl, misreading signs of threat and dropping her gun at inopportune moments. So the actress must play Laura's fragility instead of her strength. It makes for another indifferent portrait in a bland Roberts gallery. As such—go figure—it will probably make a Fort Knox bundle.

—By Richard Corliss

Hard-Luck Guy

THE GRIFTERS

Directed by Stephen Frears

Screenplay by Donald E. Westlake

When Jim Thompson died in 1977, he was broken and damn near broke. Not one of his 29 novels—tough stuff with titles like *Savage Night* and *A Swell-Looking Babe*—was in print. He had fiddled on the fringes of Hollywood, helping to write Stanley Kubrick's *The Killing* and *Paths of Glory*, but found no steady work. His one solace was booze, in punishing quantities. No wonder the typical Thompson antihero was a smart guy who got outsmarted by fate, fast company or himself.

In his final days Thompson promised his wife that he would be "famous after I'm dead about 10 years." Now he is. His repu-

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Cinema



Conniving carnivore: Huston in *The Grifters*

tation as a hard-boiled novelist is within spitting distance of Hammett's and Chandler's. And finally, Hollywood has discovered the man who wanted desperately to be in the movies. Three Thompson novels have recently become films: James Foley's broody *After Dark*, My Sweet, Maggie Greenwald's incompetent *The Kill-Off* and Stephen Frears' *The Grifters*.

The *Grifters* is the gem—small, cold, bright, brilliantly crafted. The movie traces the slug tracks of three con artists who play their deadliest tricks on one another. Roy Dillon (John Cusack) works the "short con," using loaded dice and ledger-deman to skin cashiers and sailors. Roy's girlfriend Myra (Annette Bening) is cheaper, perkier, ever ready to try the "long con"—the elaborate scheme that takes suckers for big stakes. Roy's mother Lilly (Anjelica Huston) is the con woman supreme. Abused and abusing since girlhood, she can stand up to her sadistic boss, or pull off a motel-room kill, and do it all with a hard smirk. Roy hardly stands a chance with Lilly. He can rebuff her seductions, but he can't duck her wrath.

The book was minor Thompson, lacking the snaky obsession of *The Killer Inside Me* or *A Hell of a Woman*. And Frears has turned it into a minor movie. Its characters are too small and twisted for sympathy; its pace is too studied, a little too in awe of its artfulness, to pack a wallop. It needs to move, but doesn't, at the pace a bus-station reader would devour a paperback thriller.

Best to savor *The Grifters* for its handsome design—the picture looks as clean as a Hockney landscape—and its juicy performances. Huston and Bening, sure shots for Oscar nominations, make for two splendid carnivores; they both have scintillating street wit and legs that go on for days. Cusack, as the would-be lion tamer, naturally gets devoured. And a swell sight it is too, a mother consuming her young, for the same reason a mama scorpion does: she's hungry. That's Jim Thompson's world, and now Hollywood is welcome to it. —R.C.

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People

By SOPHFRONIA SCOTT/Reported by Wendy Cole



Gulf Star

ARTHUR KENT NBC correspondent Arthur Kent expected some extra visibility from his coverage of the gulf war. But little did he suspect that his good looks, combined with grace under pressure, would make him the war's first TV heartthrob. The calm displayed by the tall, dark-haired Canadian during Iraqi Scud missile attacks on Saudi Arabia has elicited hundreds of phone calls and letters from women who insist on knowing more about him. Kent, 37, is "a little embarrassed by all the attention," but more may be on the way. A fan club has been formed, and ARTHUR KENT buttons are selling for \$2 and \$3 apiece, with T shirts and a newsletter expected to follow.



Sister Scribe

Fifteen months of creative labor have finally paid off for **Marilyn Quayle** and her elder sister Nancy Northcott. Last week the Crown Publishing Group bought their novel, *The Rage of the Lamb*, which the siblings wrote via long-distance collaboration. Quayle and Northcott, who lives in Tennessee, exchanged their work through the mail on computer disks, each one editing the other's writing. The plot: Cuba's Fidel Castro dies, and the U.S. and the Soviet Union seek to take advantage of the situation. But a U.S. Senator, the book's hero, discovers deception in both governments.

Sacks Sacked

You know times are tough when even a neurologist with popular books and a hit movie isn't recession proof. Case in point: **Oliver Sacks**, the doctor who won accolades for his book *Awakenings*, now a major film starring Robin Williams. Sacks, 57, is



being laid off from the Bronx Psychiatric Center, where he has worked for 25 years. He joins hundreds of other employees who will be let go by New York State institutions. While Sacks will not be at a loss for work or money, he sees the layoffs as a disaster for the patients. Says he: "The cost in human terms will be incalculable."

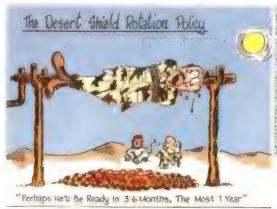


Naked Ghost

The soft light; the jukebox pouring *Unchained Melody* into the air; the potter's wheel turning under the sensuous wet clay gripped by lovers' hands. But wait! That's not Patrick Swayze. And this isn't the blockbuster *Ghost*. Try **LESUE NIELSEN** and **PRISCILLA PRESLEY**, starring in the upcoming spoof-sequel *Naked Gun 2½*, in which they spin themselves into an erotic clay-covered mess. Brought to you by the brother of the director of *Ghost* (no kidding), the film is already building audience expectations on the basis of its trailers. But fans will have to wait until this summer, when the clay hits the screens nationwide.

Desert Toons

Cartoonist **GARRY TRUDEAU'S** *DOONESBURY* comic strip has taken an acerbic view of the Desert Storm conflict. Trudeau likes taking the soldier's outlook, so it seemed natural enough that he let an airman stationed in Saudi Arabia use his newspaper space. Air Force Sergeant **TOM ROMINGER** began drawing his *Living in Purgatory* cartoons under the name "Zorro" to amuse his fellow soldiers, one of whom sent the comics to Trudeau. The fill-ins featured, among other observations, a soldier being roasted on a spit and another who hanged himself before his lost mail was found.



Music



Hats Off to A Genius!

Worldwide, the Mozart bicentennial offers mostly the most

By OTTO FRIEDRICH

From his podium at New York City's Lincoln Center last week, Raymond Leppard gave a brisk downbeat and drew forth the majestic D that opens the "Haffner" *Symphony*. In doing so, he began the gala observance of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's 235th birthday. He also began an unprecedented Lincoln Center extravaganza: to celebrate the 200th anniversary of Mozart's death by performing during the next 19 months every note he ever wrote.

Leppard's lively performance of the "Haffner," with a scaled-down orchestra assembled from the New York Philharmonic and the Juilliard School Orchestra, was peculiar because it broke off after the minuet. Then came two piano concertos, two piano solos, a serenade and four individual arias (all admirably performed by such soloists as pianist Jeffrey Kahane and soprano Dawn Upshaw) before the "Haffner" finale arrived as a kind of farewell.

This sort of programming was standard in Mozart's day, and Leppard was inaugurating the bicentennial by re-creating a concert that Mozart himself had presented in 1783. "Suffice it to say that the theater

could not have been more crowded, and that every box was full," the composer proudly wrote to his father Leopold (which is why we know the details of the program). "But what pleased me most of all was that His Majesty the Emperor was present, and goodness! how delighted he was and how he applauded me!"

The Mozart bicentennial ranges far beyond Manhattan. On the same day that the "Haffner" was resounding in Lincoln Center, Mozart's "Prague" *Symphony* poured forth in Prague, and nine other European cities chimed in with concerts of their own. Then all 10 performances were broadcast in sequence over a continentwide network, so that Europeans with grandiose Mozart plans of their own could start their celebrations.

The rest of the world has its claims too, for though Mozart was very much the child of the 18th century enlightenment in Austria, he is probably the most universally beloved of classical composers. So while there will be concerts and exhibits almost beyond counting in such traditional music centers as London and Paris, there will also be Mozart festivals in more unexpected places, ranging from Bartlesville, Okla., to Dunedin, New Zealand. When all the cheering finally dies, this will probably have been the largest and loudest celebration of any artist in human history. Says one New Yorker who prefers Puccini: "Where can I hide?"

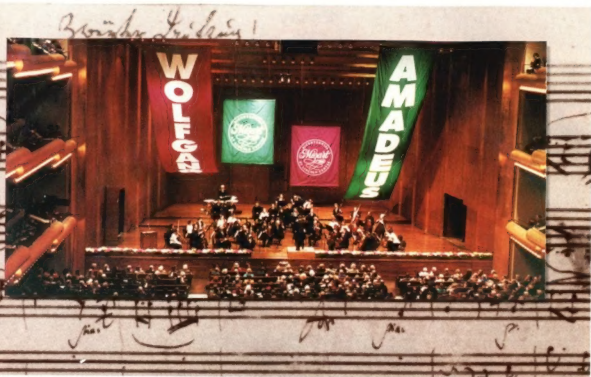
Mozart has not always been so universally popular. Though he was famous dur-

ing childhood as a keyboard virtuoso, his myriad compositions were often regarded as dense and difficult ("Too many notes, my dear Mozart," Emperor Joseph II supposedly said). Musicians, however, recognized his greatness. "I love Mozart as the musical Christ," said Tchaikovsky. "The most tremendous genius raised Mozart above all masters," said Wagner, "in all centuries and in all the arts."

But the Romantics imposed their own contradictory misjudgments. While many considered some of Mozart's greatest works admirably demonic (e.g. *Don Giovanni*), most smiled on his sonatas as works of tinkly charm appropriate for young ladies to perform in the parlor. That view of Mozart as a divinely inspired but childlike innocent endured well into this century. Only a few enthusiasts such as Sir Thomas Beecham and Artur Schnabel kept emphasizing the depth and drama in his later symphonies and piano works ("Too easy for students and too difficult for artists," said Schnabel). Serious scholarship helped; so did the revival of period instruments. The 1948 arrival of the LP record vastly broadened the availability of pre-Romantic music, and enabled lots of people to hear lots of Mozart for themselves. They loved him.

He is, of course, eminently lovable: melodious, harmonious, beautiful, an escape from all the ills that flesh is heir to. "The only music yet written that would not sound out of place in the mouth of God,"





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George Bernard Shaw once wrote, But each age hears the Mozart it wants to hear, and today's audiences enjoy not only the exquisite serenity of this music but also its emotions, its subtlety and wit. Indeed, Peter Sellars' "modernized" stagings of the operas demonstrate a very contemporary sense of anxiety and unhappiness. Still, the music remains joyous and so eminently worth celebrating.

The bicentennial celebrations are not all musical. The British, for example, are staging a weekend of billiards tournaments to commemorate Mozart's fondness for planning carom shots while he composed music, and vice versa. Japanese entrepreneurs have already started selling Mozart dolls, Mozart watches, even Mozart sake manufactured to the strains of Mozart's music. "Mozart is suitable because it is gentle and smooth, not peculiar or chaotic," says the distiller. Mozart tours are selling well, and France is operating a Mozart train to several cities that the composer visited. The Austrians have put Mozart's picture on their 5,000 schilling note (\$500), which will probably be just about enough to buy a small cup of coffee *mit Schlag* at this year's Salzburg Festival.

Mozart's native Salzburg is the high shrine of Mozartism. The festivities started Jan. 2, when the celebrated Salzburg Mari-onettes presented the first of the seven Mozart operas that the 78-year-old troupe has in its repertoire. It will tour Europe this spring and the U.S. in November. The Land-theater offers a new *Magic Flute* as well

as a restaging of Peter Shaffer's popular but preposterous *Amadeus*. For those seeking knowledge, an international symposium will provide 130 scholarly papers in four languages.

Vienna, where the composer spent his last 10 years and which he called "the best place in the world for my métier," has plans that are accordingly sumptuous. The Staatsoper and the Volksoper will play Mozart operas all season. The gilded halls of the Schönbrunn Palace, where the six-year-old Mozart once jumped into the lap of Empress Maria Theresa after one of his concerts, will be the setting for all his string quartets, as well as outdoor performances of *Don Giovanni* and *The Marriage of Figaro*.

But the Lincoln Center marathon wins the prize for endurance. Mozart's complete works, including unfinished pieces and arrangements, are now estimated to total 835 compositions, instead of the familiar Köchel list of 626. The complete presentation will enable a sufficiently dogged listener to sample such obscure efforts as the unfinished opera *L'Oca del Cairo*. And the quality of performances should be extremely high—Itzhak Perlman and Daniel Barenboim playing violin sonatas, for example; Mitsuko Uchida all the piano sonatas; both the Juilliard and Tokyo quartets on hand for chamber music.

Almost equally exhaustive is the Mozart year's biggest recording project: the collected works on 180 Philips CDs in 45 volumes,

Mozartiana: From left, the Japanese are selling Austrian dolls of Mozart as a child prodigy; Tom Hulce as the composer in the film version of *Amadeus*; Lincoln Center's Avery Fisher Hall sports banners for the televised inauguration of its Mozart marathon

some 200 hours of music. Released at a rate of 12 to 15 CDs a month, the set already includes all the symphonies, played by Sir Neville Marriner and the Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and the piano concertos, performed mainly by Alfred Brendel. This month's releases include the violin concertos and wind concertos.

Amid all the cheers, a few small doubts have been raised. "It's hard not to see in Lincoln Center's bicentennial gourmandizing a musical Trump Tower," Berkeley musicologist Richard Taruskin complained in the *New York Times*. The *Economist* was concerned that "the world will be in grave danger of suffering from surfeit." "Mozart will be everywhere," sighed the French weekly *L'Express*. "on posters, the radio, the front page... to mention Viennese confections and chocolate Mozarts. Mozart wrote, 'I would like to have all that is good, true and beautiful.' Well, so he will and, alas, all that is worst as well." Perhaps so, but while Mozart was not the giggling twit popularized in *Amadeus*, he did like jokes and games and high living, and he had a rich sense of his own gifts. It is easy to guess that he would have enjoyed his bicentennial enormously. ■

Essay

John Elson

Apocalypse Now?



Wait, for the day of the Lord is near; as destruction from the Almighty it will come!
—Isaiah 13: 6

To judge by what's selling in Christian bookstores these days, the war in the Persian Gulf is not about anything so mundane as liberating Kuwait or neutralizing the Butcher of Baghdad. Rather, the "mother of battles" (as Saddam Hussein likes to call it) is about the fulfillment of biblical prophecies regarding the imminence of Armageddon.

Consider the evidence. Zondervan, a leading U.S. publisher of Fundamentalist and Evangelical literature, has issued an updated version of John F. Walvoord's 1974 best seller, *Armageddon, Oil and the Middle East Crisis*, with an initial print order of—get this—1 million copies. (Nine were reportedly ordered by the White House, whose previous occupant was a confessed believer in Armageddon theology.) Walvoord is chancellor of Dallas Theological Seminary, where Charles H. Dyer is associate professor of Bible exposition. Dyer's new book, *The Rise of Babylon*, which argues that Saddam's announced plan to build a replica of that ancient city is an omen of the Last Days, has sold 180,000 copies just in the past two weeks. Ratings are up for conservative televangelists who preach about impending apocalypse. Among them is the Rev. Jack Van Impe of Detroit, whose scriptural prophecies point to an Iraqi defeat but also to eventual world war in this decade between Russia and the West.

Armageddon is a serious game that any number can play. The electronic bulletin boards offered by such computer networks as CompuServe and Genie are stuffed with doomsday speculations. And one need not be born again to experience a frisson of apocalyptic concern. Also enjoying a new spasm of popularity is the 16th-century astrologer Nostradamus, one of whose gnomic utterances predicts the arrival in 1999 of the "Great King of Terror"—easily identifiable as Saddam, to those with vivid imaginations.

It is no great surprise that the gulf conflict would give rise to so much spiritual hand wringing. As TIME senior writer Otto Friedrich observed in his meditation on history, *The End of the World*, solemn predictions of earth's final days have accompanied natural and man-made catastrophes down through the ages, from the sack of Rome to the Nazi Holocaust. This century's military technology has given new power to those primordial fears and illusions, wrote Friedrich in his book. Thus the most chilling uncertainty of the gulf war is whether Saddam, in an act of cynical desperation, might launch a few surviving Scuds armed with biological, chemical or nuclear warheads.

Armageddon is a fine, thumping word, almost onomatopoeic in its evocation of finality. This metaphor for ultimate conflict probably gets its name from Mount Megiddo, a scraggly hill on a great plain in northern Israel where, as many conservative Protestants believe, a great battle will end history's

most terrible war. According to scenarios drawn from prophetic passages in *Daniel*, *Ezekiel*, *Zechariah* and *Revelation*, a number of nations, including Babylon (read Iraq) and led by an evil Antichrist, will invade Israel during this conflict. But then the Son of God will return to halt the slaughter and, according to some visions, inaugurate a thousand-year era of peace before presiding at the Final Judgment.

Historians have proposed that this millenarian kingdom come is the ultimate (but unacknowledged) source of that now discredited Marxist paradise, the withering away of the state. Faith in Jesus' Second Coming has persisted through history, even though predictions about its timing have inevitably proved premature. The first Christians thought he would return to earth within their lifetime. As the Goths decimated imperial legions in the 4th century, St. Ambrose of Milan saw the Antichrist among the pagan invaders and proclaimed that the end of the world was nigh. A 12th-century Cistercian abbot, Joachim of Flora, was quite precise: the Age of the Spirit, which he saw as the culmination of human history, would be-

gin between A.D. 1200 and 1260. William Miller, the Baptist layman who founded the Adventist movement in America, was sure that the Second Coming would take place on March 21, 1843, and then, after recalculating, on Oct. 22, 1844. (Miller had the grace to confess his errors when the deadlines passed; the movement survived.)

To the nonbeliever, all such speculation is bootless. If God does not exist, there is no First Coming, much less a Second, and the end of the world is a concept without meaning. Many mainstream Protestants and Roman Catholic theologians argue that millenarians like Walvoord and Dyer misuse scriptural prophecies about the final days. These are not detail-specific

guides to beating some kind of celestial point spread but timeless alerts that humanity must be constantly vigilant against sin's allure. The temptation to seek clues to the Second Coming on CNN is easy to understand, since Saddam has proclaimed himself a successor to Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian King who enslaved the Israelites of old. That makes it deceptively easy for prophecy mongers to identify Iraq with Babylon. Somewhat awkwardly, it also undercuts a long-standing Protestant tradition that this symbol of corruption refers to the Church of Rome.

Ultimately, Christian critics of the millenarians can argue that they are guilty of two errors. One is emulating Abbot Joachim's egotistic heresy: falsely assuming that the age in which they live is unique. The other mistake—an undertone in some of the Armageddon literature but overt in much of the computerized End Days babbling—is to interpret events in the gulf with eschatological glee, as if the real message were "Hey, fellas, our troubles are almost over." No one has the right to that assumption. History unfurls as God's secret, wrote the French novelist Léon Bloy. But it is also man's destiny, from which there is no abdication. ■

THE
END



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